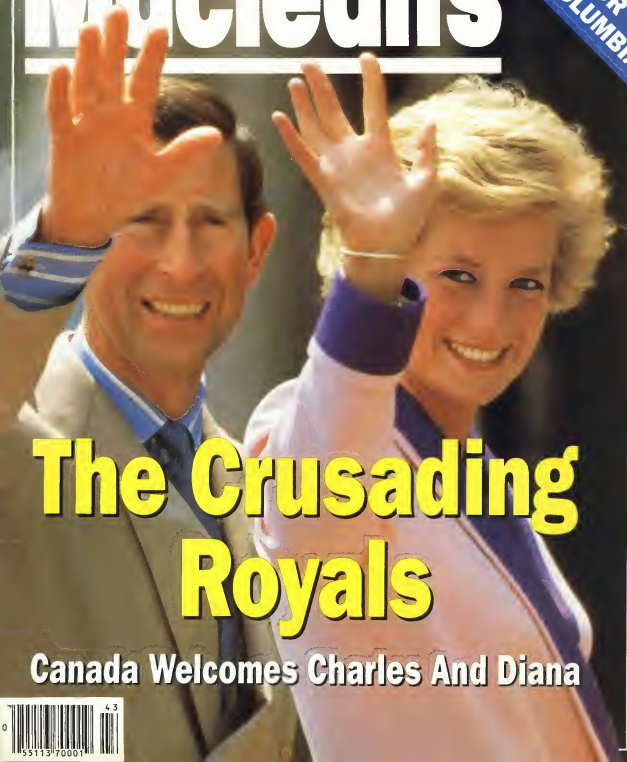


THE NDP'S
PLANS FOR
BRITISH COLUMBIA

Maclean's



The Crusading Royals

Canada Welcomes Charles And Diana





Ultimately, there's Black.

Maclean's

CANADA'S WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE OCTOBER 28 1993 \$2.10 (U.S. \$3.00)

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COVER

CRUSADING ROYALS

Canadians will get a close look at the Prince and Princess of Wales this week, as they begin an official visit to Ontario. Their schedule will be short on ceremony and long on socially significant encounters that are intended to portray them as a working couple. But inevitably, attention will focus as much on the personalities and personalities of the future king and queen as on their pet causes. — 46



CANADA

BACK TO THE NDP

In a dramatic change, British Columbia rejected Social Credit and opted for an anti-government led by Michael Housen. The new premier, a self-styled "social democrat" known to his colleagues as "Moderate Mike," plans to introduce new approaches and keep the budget balanced. — 14



WORLD

TAINTED VICTORY

After a 107-day political battle, the U.S. Senate confirmed Judge Clarence Thomas's nomination to the Supreme Court. But a bruising partisan inquiry into allegations that Thomas had sexually harassed a former assistant, law professor Anita Hill, left a lingering taste of suspicion. — 34



LETTERS

PORTRAIT OF A BILLIONAIRE

Your cover package on Ken Thomson, which comprised excerpts from Peter G. Newman's book *Abolished Province*, reached me late of last January. I'm Canadian, not even, I guess, Oct. 14? Do you seriously think that this idle gossip interests many Canadians or anyone there in dealing with important issues? Are Thomson's transactions on a par with federal transfer payments? Is Gorton's death an environmental issue?

John Dwyer,
Williams Lake, B.C.

It is wonderful to see that the richest man in Canada believes in being frugal. If more Canadians were, we would not have the problems with waste, the environment and recycling that seem so prevalent today. More families could learn from the Thomsons about the richness of support, love and caring within the family unit. Brian, Ken Thomson.

Elizabeth Frenck,
Ottawa

I have known Ken Thomson socially for more than 25 years. He is a man of integrity, a very decent human being and a concerned citizen. His business success speaks for itself. The truth you published clearly shows why he has to maintain a reserved manner, otherwise, so-called biographers can distort truth into fiction very easily. The people who know Ken and his family will look upon your articles, their author and their publisher with the disdain they deserve.

Jack Lomas,
Toronto

What is Ken Thomson's ultimate goal? Is accumulation of wealth for accumulation's sake his only goal, or will the Toronto General Hospital and other worthy charities eventually benefit from him as equally as his four-legged pet? I hope Thomson aspires to more than being remembered in one of the richest, as well as one of the stingiest, men in Canadian history.

Bryan Cawson,
Burlington, N.C.

AN INACCURATE INFERENCE

In "Survival of the fittest" (Business, Oct. 1), you describe small organized trust companies as being susceptible to the "unpredictable whims" of local economists, and then write: "This is the daunting challenge now confronting them, the so-called Municipal Trusts, and the rest of General Trust's domain is clear to see." Any reasonable reader would clearly infer that Municipal Trust has been left holding a large number of mortgages of new-



Thomson with wife Marilyn: "fluff"

acquired General Trust workers and that problems of this magnitude have resulted in the collapse of well-regarded trust companies. That inference is accurate, as well as damaging to Municipal Trust. Municipal Trust, jointly with its parent company, operates only two of the 30 financial institution branches in Bette-

Furthermore, our local branches do not hold any mortgages or real-estate owned by laid-off General Trust employees. Company-wide, Municipal Trust holds only one such mortgage. We have had a number of inquiries from customers as to the validity of this corporation because, after reading your article, it appears that we are in some sort of financial trouble. That is not the case.

Michael J. Auble
Chairman and chief executive officer
Municipal Trust
Belle, Ont.

NOT JUST A BUNCH OF BOSERS

Sharon on Monday's story poorly researched article that about-changed Rush and their boss ("Rock 'n' roll royalty," Music, Sept. 30). You suggested to mention that drummer Neil Peart has consistently won annual award records, has been elected to Atlantic Oceanographer magazine's Hall of Fame and was invited last year to the Buddy Rich Memorial Scholarship Concert—an honor reserved for the very best drummers. Last year, the Canadian recording industry honored Rush with the Group Award of the Decade award. None of these achievements makes of "loser rock" to me.

Janet P. Shattuck,
Anchorage, Alaska

PASSAGES

RESIGNED: Television evangelist Jimmy Swaggart, 56, an local minister of the Jimmy Swaggart Ministries, based in Baton Rouge, La., after police stopped him in India, Calif., for a traffic violation while driving prohibited Rosemary Garcia was in his car. Swaggart, whose programs are broadcast around the world, turned his ministry in 1985 after he was introduced by the Assembly of God, the largest U.S. Pentecostal denomination, because of an alleged father-son incest with a prostitute. Swaggart's son Donnie said that he would temporarily replace his father, but did not say when the elder Swaggart intends to return to the pulpit. He added that his father was receiving counseling.



ILL: Walter Gresham, 53, father of hockey superstar Wayne Gresham, with a brain aneurysm, a bulge in a weak spot in the wall of an artery. The senior Gresham was laid up week's end in serious condition in hospital in Hamilton, where he was taken after becoming ill while passing the house on the family farm near Deseronto, Ont. Wayne Gresham, who plays for the Los Angeles Kings of the National Hockey League, has taken a temporary leave to be with his father.

DEED: Country-and-western singer Tennessee Ernie Ford, 72, of a long career, is hospitalized in Boston, Mass. A heavy singer with a smooth baritone voice, Ford sold millions of records, but was best known for his 1955 rendition of the coal-mining ballad "Swain Town." He also had an NBC television

show from 1954 to 1963, and a daytime show on ABC TV from 1963 to 1965.

SURPASSED: The all-time scoring record for a defenseman in the National Hockey League, by Toronto-born Paul Coffey of the Pittsburgh Penguins, with a third-period assist in a game at home against the New York Islanders. Coffey's achievement of 1,023 points, including 303 goals and 744 assists in 835 games over 12 seasons, best the previous 1955 record of now-retired New York Islander Dennis Pate.

TRANSFERRED: Former Olympic water diver Robert Hood, 44, from his position as director general of Sport Canada to another branch of Health and Welfare Canada. Insiders say that Hood had been at odds with the assistant deputy minister.



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LETTERS

DELETING THE EXPLETIVES

I have been reading *Maclean's* since I was in high school and love subscribing for years. Now that I am a teacher of Grade 7 and 8 French and history, I find that *Maclean's* is an excellent teaching tool. The content is Canadian content is wonderful. However, I was both upset and disgusted with your use of profanity in the Lawrence (Bambi) Bushwick story ("A downhill road," Special Report, Sept. 30). These days, we are faced with much profanity in public schools. It is a sad state of affairs when I cannot use an article about law and equal justice to teach my students because, in two separate instances, you have included the f-word. Let us think about who could be reading your magazine—15-, 16- and 14-year-olds, perhaps.

Lynne McHenry,
Oshawa, Ont.

While reading your Sept. 33 issue, I was up-
palled by the use of foul language that appeared
in your Special Report on Lawrence Bush-
wick. I would appreciate it if in the future,
your writers would abstain from using such
filthy words in their articles, since *Maclean's* is
a family magazine.

Michelle Benjamin,
Newfiection

A certain word appears twice in "A downhill
road." This word is not used in my household,
even in quotation, and I do not want to see it in
reading material accessible to other members
of the family.

Glen HILL,
Edmonton, Ont.

AN 'UNCARING' TERM

I would like to draw attention to the un-
familiar use of the word "crazy" in the head-
line of your review of the brilliant new Terry
Gilliam film, *The Fisher King* ("Love in the
gutter," Films, Sept. 30). I realize that it is
hard to come up with just the right headline for
every story, but surely someone at *Maclean's*
should know better than to allow such a word
to contrast with schizophrenia. To begin with,
people suffering from schizophrenia are not
mad, crazy, insane or looney. All of these
outdated, small-minded, uneducated and un-
caring terms are still in use lazily because of
the print media. While I must congratulate
your magazine for not using said many of the
other I have mentioned elsewhere, I would like
to see you take the lead in making a difference
in the way people talk about those who are less
fortunate—but no less deserving of respectful
and just treatment.

J. G. G. Emond,
Calgary

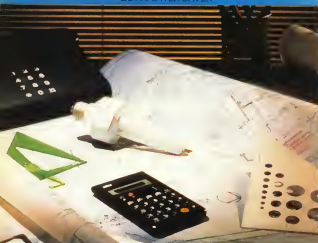
Their rye is made of what?



Ours is made of rye.

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A *case in point*: Ontario University, for example, recently received over \$190,000 toward the redesign of its central cooling plant and the installation of variable speed drives.

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LETTERS

BACK TO THE BASICS

Your cover package of Sept. 30, "A pain in the back," was informative but disappointing. While it offered some examples of practical solutions for back-pain sufferers, it failed to address the inherent problems in the Canadian health-care system. The frenzied search for pain relief takes patients from one specialist to another. If you had a breast condition and went to several cardiologists, you would most likely receive the same diagnosis and similar treatment plans. But in physical medicine, the treatment you receive may depend more on who you see. With no universal standards for assessing these conditions adequately, patients and employers are faced with contradictory diagnoses and theories.

Mark White,
Executive director
Physical Medicine Research Foundation,
Vancouver

It fails to even why you did not explain that chronic back pain is the result of acute pain that has gone misdiagnosed or untreated. Most problems, if not treated, amount to major chronic problems over time, and the result is chronic pain. It was also not mentioned that the treatment of choice of 90 per cent of acute back-pain

sufferers is chiropractic therapy, which is a form of preventive medicine. It is useful in many chronic cases, as well.

Dr. R. M. Gurus,
Chronic Chiropractic Office,
Mississauga

How many of us back-pain sufferers will be allowed to receive treatments at the Toronto Blue Jays' locker room? What about the average person who cannot afford these luxuries? Must we just suffer in silence?

D. J. Edwards,
Mississauga, Ont.

GIVING IT ALL AWAY

In Peter C. Newman's Sept. 30 *Business Watch* column, "Canada's military imposture," he intimates that Canada could potentially lose its Arctic sovereignty to the United States. However, the government conceded the building of the Peirce-0 subseaider that "was supposed to produce the North as our turf." Instead, the government gave \$215 million to Romania to help finish building a GANU reactor that has been under construction since 1979. I would rather see the Maple Leaf flying from a Canadian contractor while it perils the Canadian Arctic, asserting our sovereignty.

Dave Langdon,
Sudbury, Ont.

CURIOUS COMPARISONS

In "A warning on a provocation" (Cover, Oct. 7), you write that "sneaking vehicles have disappeared en masse from independence [in Quebec]." How can a 52-ton concrete beam disappear from the wall of the "Big One" farm anything to do with Quebec staying or not staying in Canada? Your cheap statement does not contribute much to furthering Canadian unity.

Robert Maxwell,
Kleinburg, Que.

MARKETING UNITY

Canadian novelist Mordecai Richler, though short, was laudably right when he wrote in *The New Yorker* magazine that Quebec creates an adoptable climate for anglophones ("A Quebec critique," Opening Pages, Sept. 30). The world must be puzzled by Canada's warring over a "distinct society" clause for Quebec and a federal union that has pledged to market the concept like they were selling soap or beer. No province will grow up until it forgets its racial background and welcomes its pure lack in being Canadian.

Alvin R. Goldstein,
Burlington, B.C.

Letters may be condensed. Please include name, address and daytime telephone number. Please Letters to the Editor, National Business, National Media, 177 King St. W., Toronto, Ont. M5H 1K1. Or fax: (416) 593-7723.



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OPENING NOTES

Fredrik Eaton takes some ribbing, Lise Payette analyses the nation, and Brian Mulroney rattles

STRAIGHT FROM THE HIP

With the unveiling of the new constitutional package out of the way, Prime Minister Brian Mulroney appears to be more relaxed than he has been in many months. And his newfound calm seems to be accompanied by a refreshing candor. Insiders report that the Prime Minister has offered off-the-cuff opinions on everything from his favorite—and least favorite—oppositional members, to what he and his wife, Nita, think of Ottawa journalist John Sewitsky's new biography, *Mulroney: The Politics of Ambition*. According to Mulroney, Newfoundland Liberal anti-George Baker and Brian Trott are "very effective" in



Mulroney: a refreshing candor

the House of Commons. But he named Liberal Shelia Copps and senior Nelson Blais as the "loudest" members. Said Mulroney: "They have to be our candidates for the next two months in the House." And he added that Copps would be more effective if she were less vindictive. The re-elected Liberal leader Jean Chrétien as a "vicious poet." He expressed anger about Sewitsky's recently published book, which he said he has not read, but Mulroney said that when he and Nita watched Barbara Frum on CBC's *The Journal* interviewing the author recently, Nita "told off the book, she was laughing so hard." Many details about his alcoholic past are fiction, Mulroney said. But he did not deny the substance of the allegations. Said the Prime Minister: "If he wants to talk about stuff I have done in my life, there's a lot more there than that."

Different styles for Quebec

Visiting CBC news anchorwoman Kawthia Nash may have identified a real source of division between French- and English-Canadian in her new book, *Visions of Canada*, published this month. Much of the four months traveling across the country and talking to 45 prominent Canadians. The book is a collection of conversations between Nash and such familiar personalities as Thomas Janney, Allan Gregg, Irving Schwab, Oscar Peterson, Ralph Nader and Joe Jacobs, who discuss their hopes and fears for the country. But it was Lise Payette, Quebec broad-caster, writer, politician and a constant antagonist, who told Nash "We are not like you. We don't act what you act, we love differently, we love differently." She did not elaborate. But last week in Toronto, Nash told a gathering held to celebrate the launch of the book that he wanted he had the



Payette: making friends, not enemies

been to do more research on law-making techniques in Quebec. Amy Bennett, president of McGill-Edwards & Stewart, which is publishing *Visions of Canada*, told Nash to hold off. Said Bennett: "That may be an idea for your next book."

MYTHS IN THE MAKING

Sassy, a New York City-based magazine for teenage girls, includes the word "nerdout" as its glossary of teenage slang. As a word, states the magazine in its November issue, is a "Canadian synonym for widge," as in, "This worn-out old pair of underwear is driving me a-widge." A spokesman for Sassy, published by Long Communications, the owners of his magazine, declined to comment. But according to the glossary the term was coined by a Canadian woman called Mrs. Atwood, "who had uncomfortable undergarments."

SECOND-FIDDLE CHALLENGE

In his career as prime minister, Pierre Trudeau often tried a fine line between politics and theatre. But in 1984, he really had a chance to cross the line permanently. In the week, the CBC's *Front Page Challenge* saw the world's best and brightest young television news anchors, began looking for a replacement anchor after the death of journalist Gordon Sinclair. The show's executive producer, Raymond McCawell, says that he approached Trudeau through Liberal Senator Keith Dewar.



Trudeau: the CBC's first anchor

Philadelphia: No. 2



Trudeau, who had recently announced his intention to drop politics, had received a mystery offer. He turned the offer down, and Trudeau's columnist, Alan Paterson, told the job called. But when the CBC approached him, he asked whether they were considering and invited about the offer to Trudeau. Said a growing Trudeau, who knows for his speed with a checkbook: "The first question he asked was, 'How much?' Trudeau added: 'I don't really mind being second choice to Pierre Trudeau. But on my way out, every one of his questions would have been 20 minutes long.'"

Back talk



Layton: son of a Tory

In his bid for the Tory leadership in Toronto's upcoming municipal elections, New Democrat Jack Layton has the blessing of someone who is both an ideological opponent and a personal ally—his father. The 41-year-old Layton is the son of Robert Layton, Tory MP for the Montreal riding of LeMarchand-Saunders. The younger Layton grew up in Halifax, Que., and attended McGill University before moving to Toronto's York University to do a doctorate in political science. It was then, recalled Robert Layton, that his son "jerked up this attraction to the socialist option, working with lower professions who were a bit left-leaning." Jack was first elected to Toronto city council in 1982. Robert's own career as a Tory MP began late in life. In 1984 at the age of 55, as he was ending a career as an engineer. He served as Tory minister of state (named from 1984 to 1986) and a currently chairman of the Tory caucus. But both father and son are former Liberals. Robert ran unsuccessfully for the Liberal nomination in Montreal in 1972, and together they worked on Pierre Trudeau's campaign. Both say that although they do not always agree on political issues, their respect is mutual. Said Jack Layton: "We both have an interest in social-justice issues. But I must say my father has taken a different path."

TAKING POETIC LIBERTIES

Kawthia Howard (Shawmont), a disc jockey with Toronto radio station MIX 99.5, has delighted opponents of Ontario Premier Bob Rae with his new song, *Superbuck*. Using the tune of the rock group Cream's *Tequila*, he sings: *Superbuck never sends any money, big business is gone, they think Ontario's currency? Sometimes I say a prayer and hope there's never another man like him.* The song says that people in Ontario try to remember Michael Harris's office hours were requested. Said Brad Roberts, lead singer of the Dummies, says that he is in Toronto, but that the experience of his song is a socialist. Said Roberts: "My government would have voted NDP."

BARBED DIPLOMACY

The recent appointment of Fredrik Eaton, former ambassador to Mexico, as Canada's high commissioner in London has provoked some discussion in British Columbia's diplomatic community. Soon after taking over the post from Donald Macdonald, Eaton presided over a black-tie



Eaton: close, close, close, Japan

dinner sponsored by the Canadian Club at the plush Ritz Hotel, and observers say he seemed at ease. At home, Eaton is the embodiment of the Canadian Club's motto, but in London some critics apparently view him as a more cautious. One joke making the rounds is that Eaton might have borrowed Africa from a profit by converting a profit of Canada's share over to India. Eaton, who is married, says that he is not as high as some commentators, but he can always exchange him for a new one.

Mario's first- class pain

Edward DeBartolo, owner of the Pittsburgh Penguins, has a reputation for coaxing his players. But his thoroughness may be keeping his star player. The *Daily Telegraph* reported that because of his chronic back problems, Mario Lemieux likes to fly first-class when the team is on the road, but that DeBartolo refuses to pay. Not so, maintained to an spokesman, Harold Saunders, who said that DeBartolo has not ruled out packing up the team. DeBartolo said that decision remains to be made, relief may be imminent in another form. DeBartolo is selling the team.



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COLUMN



The noise of women's turmoil

BY BARBARA AMIEL

THE acutest moment for me in Kingsley Amis's 1984 novel, *Lucky Jim*, is when Margaret Frost, that intense, yet acerbic with a dash of humor, green prexy starts and quavereth about the young hero about his suicide attempt. Margaret is upset about installing gay and gals in James, who slipped his dice with her on the very evening she decided to "drop out."

"And then, just before I went under," Margaret explains breathlessly, "I suddenly stopped caring. I'd been clutching the empty bottle like a gun dead, I remember, as if I couldn't get on to life in a way. But quite soon I holding in the best hand going, I felt too tired to care."

Margaret rattles on about it. Her face is flushed by the radiant misery James is accused on the radiant contours of a nearby barnyard. The moment is perfect as the way it catches the amnesiac self-absorption of the female of the species. Unasked for, she needs to look after children or make a meal for her husband, she is free to abandon herself to her amnesia, which as this case has slightly literary quality, as befitting a lecturer in history.

Amis's description of that moment has lodged in my memory as just because it seems so well, but also because it invoked the strong progressive spirit of the late 1950s. Today, of course, Amis wouldn't write that way at all. Margaret would not be an academic but a television producer or stenographer. She would not take an overdose of pills but would "self-destruct" through an addiction to food, booze or cocaine. She would not be agonizing over a lost boyfriend but rather over the sexual overtones of his father or brother. She would never be studying anything older or more dense than her work or something on the work's tap video.

Turn on the television on these days and the point of women's inner turmoil made somewhat positively challenging: much the celebrity is the disorder. Do you want Suzanne Somers, Oprah Winfrey, Elizabeth Taylor or Roseanne Barr? Do you want to listen to a feminist, as

The idea that people have any responsibility for their behavior has long been buried under the vocabulary of 'abuse' and 'victim'

academic, an abused wife, an abused child or even a child abuse? Are you interested in a better wife or a better Miss America? A man who would be forgiven for thinking that the primary problem of North America is a population of females totally absorbed with their personal anxiety—addictions, abuse, experiences and pain.

The preoccupations of celebrities are significant only because they generally reflect the preoccupations of ordinary people who live. What all this tangled mess about addictive behavior points to is a general anxiety in society. The problem is not simply the glorification of neurotic behavior itself; the larger problem is the accommodation of such behavior. In new, it is a virtually necessary to describe oneself as a victim of some sort.

The danger of all this comes with the treatment of the problem when "victims" are encouraged to concentrate on their own feelings and discover the harm as themselves. What we are developing is a self-centred, preoccupied society with little incentive to help others or expand structural resources to the outer world. We are suffocating in our own pain.

If we want to take the Canadian temperature on this, the November issue of *Chautauque*

will do for a start. I mean a fix of *Chautauque*, because as a lot of chaotic female myself I love the countless pages of tips on how to update an all-style-dart (put a laugh on it) or the dangers of haemorrhoids (that makes blood in too-high humidity.) But my flesh-and-flesh pages are being edged out by articles celebrating violence.

The November issue leads with an article on women who are sexually abused by their doctors. This is a new class of victims to me, but *Chautauque* claims that one in 10 physicians abuse their female patients. When added to the at least one in 10 of us who we are told have suffered some sort of sexual abuse, that makes for a lot of Canadians who are part of the willing wounded. Further in, the magazine has an article on "the lifelong trauma of the children of divorce." More victims. "We used to believe that my trauma kids suffered when parents divorced was short-lived," *Chautauque* tells us. "Now, new studies show some kids grow up scarred by low self-esteem and heart-bred by past abandonment."

Just for good measure, *Chautauque* counsels children who have parents who argue to discuss their family with other family members or a therapist. Men can get on on the net as well. The same issue includes an article on the mythological hero's movement in which chaos hurls around in circles acting out an insouciant and in order to get in touch with their inner selves and confront their superior relationships with their fathers. According to the article, the first fellow graders who has sexual awareness and discovers he has been molested by his mother and revealed his father for doing nothing about it. "It would be easy to dismiss all this as farcical and disarming," writes David Brown, a former *Chautauque* senior editor, "but these men are genuinely trying to find out something about themselves and they're not afraid to look stupid along the way." Tap, Mowatville, Canada burns.

When was it that our values changed and being a psychological origin became a mark of genius? I remember seeing a book in 1970 that had one chapter on a brief point on addiction I had to take medically prescribed pills. I was bitterly embarrassed by the revelation but wanted to make a point about individual responsibility. That point seems to be away now. The notion that an individual has any responsibility for his or her behavior has been based under the vocabulary of "abuse" and "victim."

In effect, the very notion of character has been lost. That is the new word that can never be found in all the articles on the casualties of divorce, abuse or addictive behavior. It has no time for the notion that people may have an overeating or alcoholism but because they have an "illness" or because their parents divorced or their employer stole at their best, but simply because they lack character.

Canada will survive these current preoccupations, of course, and the pendulum will swing, but it might be nice to once again understand that civic and social obligations are just as important to a healthy psyche as the constant nurturing of actor and private ones.

PARLIAMENTARY WITNESS

Liberal Leader Jean Chrétien said that he will set up an Office of Public Sector Ethics to police the conduct of federal politicians if his party loses the next government. An Economic Research Group Ltd. poll released on Oct. 17 showed that the Liberals enjoyed the support of 39 per cent of decided voters, compared with 19 per cent for their nearest rival, the New Democratic Party, and 15 per cent for the Conservatives.

A DIPLOMATIC THUM

In leading a trade mission to China this week to discuss Canadian wheat sales, Agriculture Minister William McKelbin becomes the first Canadian cabinet minister to travel to that country since the 1910 Tiananmen Square massacre. The trip signals a gradual improvement in Canada's relations with China, which were strained after the crackdowns.

NEW HOPE FOR BANKE

A Milwaukee judge ordered an investigation into whether evidence was tampered with in the 1983 Wisconsin murder conviction of Lawrence (Frank) Bonkewitz. The 33-year-old former Playboy Club waitress accused of Canada last year, and his expelled to remain in Canada as a refugee.

AN NDP SHUFFLE

In a cabinet change resulting from a ministerial resignation earlier this month, Ontario Premier Bob Rae last week appointed Education Minister Marwan Bishara, 45, to take control of the province's social and targeted ministry. Community and Social Services, Manpower and labour chairman Tony Slope, 34, takes over Rae's duties in the education portfolio.

A NARROW WIN FOR CLYDE WELLS

Newfoundland Premier Clyde Wells's Liberal party increased its standing in the province's 52-seat legislature to 24 members when Harold Smith, 50, narrowly won the riding of Baie Verte/White Bay over closest rival and younger brother, Mark Smith, who ran for the Conservatives.

ILLEGAL ALIENS

Police charged prominent Toronto black rights activist Oliver Lewis with several violations of Canadian and U.S. immigration laws after a three-month investigation into a network that allegedly arranged illegal illegal entry into and out of Canada across the U.S. border. Emerging from a bail hearing with \$200,000 bail, Lewis, 51, said the "charges laid against me are false."



Victorious Harcourt with his mother, Stella (left), and his wife, Becky (right) seats for the man known as "Moderate Mike"

CANADA

BACK TO THE NDP

Months before the polls closed in British Columbia, Michael Harcourt was relaxing in a Vancouver Chinese restaurant with his wife, Rebecca (Becky), their 18-year-old son, Steven, and Harcourt's parents, Frank and Stella. The dinner party, celebrating his parents' 50th wedding anniversary on Oct. 17, was drawing to a close as Harcourt opened a fortune cookie. Reading the cookie message, the smiling leader of the province's New Democratic said: "No official document may arrive soon." Well, the plot thins, but he'll have to wait for a few more minutes. Harcourt did not have to wait long. Shortly 49 minutes later, local TV stations projected an NDP majority. And by

SOCIAL CREDIT CRUMBLES, THE LIBERALS SURGE AND THE B.C. NDP SCORES AN IMPRESSIVE WIN

the end of the evening, not only had Harcourt officially been declared premier-designate with a measure majority, but the province's political plot had thickened considerably. With the free-enterprise vote split between the resurgent Liberals and the soundly-paired Social Credit—33 per cent and 24 per cent, respectively—the NDP's 41 per cent of the popular vote was enough to give it a commanding 51 seats in the 75-seat house. Said a jubilant Harcourt: "You want me to run this up as one word? How about 'change'." B.C. voters turned their backs on Social Credit, the overpowered party that brought to power 39 years ago by W. A. C. Bennett. And in reducing the

already volatile political force last week's election also has weakened the polarization between right-wing free enterprise and socialist that has rivaled B.C. politics for decades. In the immediate aftermath of the election shock, some Socialists acknowledged that the political landscape of British Columbia may have changed permanently. Said Grace McCarthy, a former Social minister who joined Harcourt for the party leadership in July: "There are very deep problems in the party because the wounds which were created over five years of chaos and scandals have not healed. It may well be that the huts are too deep and may not be fixed." And former Social strategy general Bruce Smith, who left McCarthy resigned from the cabinet over disagreements with Vander Zee's leadership, put it more succinctly. Said Smith: "For Social Credit, it's curtains."

The electorate also expressed its desire for change in its response to two referendum questions accompanying the ballot. With the vote-counting continuing at week's end, it was clear that nonbinding proposals to empower voters had won overwhelming approval. One would enable them to elect representatives and call a by-election, the other would give them the power to propose their own policy initiatives through referendums.

In rejecting the Socialists, British Columbians opted for a moderate New Democratic Party—

and a premier known among his party colleagues as "Moderate Mike." The day after the election, Harcourt was asked if he is a socialist. "I am a very devoted," he replied, "to a cause I believe in a sound economy, that there is a role for public and private enterprise. I have made it very clear that the mainstream moderate social democratic that I am has rejected nationalization, has not that we have to create wealth. The last two laws the measures that are required to be able to bring about the quality education and health care that our citizens want."

That even tone has helped Harcourt's predecessors since the 48-year-old lawyer and former mayor of Vancouver became the province's 30th premier in 1987. And brought a 38-day campaign, he successfully led off attempts by Johnston and the Socialists to attack the legacy of David Bennett's free-spending 1973-1975 NDP government to Harcourt. When he outlined the party's proposed election platform, Harcourt stressed that the plebiscite goals to be put in place when affordable, not policies to be trotted right away. And early in the campaign, Harcourt declared that an NDP government would practice fiscal restraint—a pledge that he repeated last week after his stunning victory. Declared Harcourt: "We have to live within our means."

In fact, one of the province's leading businessmen, Jim Pattison—whose multibillion-dollar Jim Pattison Group reported gross sales of \$2.5 billion in 1990—was clearly prepared to give Harcourt the benefit of the doubt. Said Pattison after the election: "The people decide who the government is. My job is to work with that government." Pattison added that he does not expect any immediate problems—"if the government is reasonable and does not run up huge deficits. Business doesn't like that kind of thing."

Harcourt says that his plan for the current fiscal year will require a 1.5-per-cent increase in spending over the Socialists' forecast, tabled as a budget that spring. That budget called for \$19.3 billion in spending over a projected annual deficit of \$1.2 billion. But last week, Harcourt repeated his campaign promise of a balanced budget. Although he acknowledged that his government will continue to run a deficit for the next two years, he added: "We'll be in the black at the third year."

Harcourt said that his government will be able to offset the increase in spending with savings through efficient government operation, including reducing the number of ministers from the Socialists' 23 to "less than 20."

And to make up for the \$1.2-billion reduction in annual federal transfer payments announced earlier, Ottawa has agreed to make up the difference over two years. Individuals earning more than \$100,000 a year will pay a so-called high-income surcharge. And profitable corporations will be called on to pay a minimum 7.75-per-cent tax on profits. Harcourt pointed out that taxes on profits in Hong Kong are 17 per cent and that a Statistics Canada study showed that \$2.5 billion in corporate profits was not taxed in British Columbia last year. He then added

"We want fair taxes, not punitive taxes"

The plan is to use the increased tax revenues—well, savings through efficiencies—in part for such not-unpopular as a fully funded health program for needy schoolchildren. The party also proposes, among other things, to fund community-based health-care services, including therapeutic abortions, except free-time home health care, the 100-per-cent property tax, double provincial park and wilderness areas to 12 times six per cent of Crown land, and provide incentives for construction of low-cost starter homes.

On the national constitutional front, Harcourt, a supporter of the failed Meech Lake constitutional accord, advocates recognition of Quebec as a distinct society. "I am not a separatist since my province," he said. "But the people of Quebec have to be assured that their language, culture, and Napoleonic civil code will be preserved." As well, Harcourt maintains that British Columbia can play a greater role in future constitutional talks. Said Harcourt: "Historically, we have been under-managed. One mistake we're wrapping our heads in the flag, and the next mistake we are sort of neo-separatist, belligerent and threatening. We should play a more active, positive and therefore more powerful role."

At week's end, Harcourt, his spouse and party supporters were celebrating. The premier was not expected to take the reins of government officially and never in his cabinet, said the end of the month. Although he gave no indication about cabinet appointments, he



Johnson: questions about the future of Social Credit

point men in the party's dogged four-year attack on the conduct of the Vander Zee administration—justice critic Mae Shota and finance critic Glen Clark—are likely to play prominent roles. Harcourt said that the transfer of power would be accomplished "with a consensus of fans and jobs." Harcourt also planned to meet with Johnson this week to discuss the transition. For her part, Johnson, who late on election night told her supporters

that "the vote stands," said that she would not make a statement about her own future until she had talked with the party's board. But Johnson did say that she was unlikely to lead the party into another election, adding that her time as premier was "six months of my life that I'll never forget."

The B.C. legislature, meanwhile, will not be recalled until next spring, when Harcourt's New Democrats will table their first budget. In the meantime, Harcourt clearly intends to live up to his campaign pledge to ensure "a stable business climate for British Columbians." In the near future, he will travel to Tokyo, Hong Kong, Seoul and possibly Guangzhou formerly Canton, the Chinese city paired with Vancouver when Harcourt was mayor to drum up business for the province. Last week Harcourt said that the message he will carry to the Pacific Rim next month is the same one his government has for local business. Said Harcourt: "We're open for business, but the ground rules are very simple. Don't mess up the environment, pay your fair share of taxes, treat your employees fairly, and we'll get along just swell." British Columbians now have four years to try to get along with Harcourt—and without the Social

HAL QUINN is in Vancouver

Ready for prime time

The B.C. Liberals win a stunning breakthrough

A minority as in a month ago, Gordon Wilson paced the debates of provincial politics like a feline outsider, anxious to play but not cornered. The leader of the Liberal Party of British Columbia, working part time as an economic and geography resource instructor at Vancouver's Capilano College, at Vancouver and Social Credit conventions and other public events, waiting patiently in the background to offer his views on current topics to anyone willing to listen. Then, on Oct. 17, Vancouver's civic TV affiliate—under threat of a civil suit from Wilson—showed the unsuspect-

the Socials at 30 per cent. But as a poll by the same firm takes in the three days following the broadcast, Wilson and his party vaulted to second place, with 30-per-cent support—actually tied with the incumbent Socials at 20 and trailing the NDP by just eight percentage points.

As the Liberal surge continued in a poll by the same firm taken in the three days following the broadcast, Wilson and his party vaulted to second place, with 30-per-cent support—actually tied with the incumbent Socials at 20 and trailing the NDP by just eight percentage points.



Wilson from obscurity in 17 seats after a strong performance in a TV debate

led 43-year-old to join the NDP and Socials in a coalition and—more recently, his 50th birthday. Harcourt and the Socials' Rita Johnston alternately dodged tough questions and exchanged barbs. Wilson, with nothing to lose and everything to gain, appeared to be calm but reasonable, intelligent and articulate—an almost an alternative.

With an Liberals sitting in the legislature since 1979, and after four lonely years on the periphery since becoming leader on Halloween night, 1987, Wilson—in the space of one hour of prime-time—multitasking as a player, just three months before the TV show, the Liberals had attracted, just under 30-per-cent support among devoted voters in the Angus Reid Group poll. Now just NDP support at 53 per cent, and

last against the actual-cold government at 17. The Vander Zee and his successor James, the outsiders held on election day. The Liberals took 22 per cent of the popular vote, an astounding jump from the 5.7 per cent in the 1986 provincial election. That result last week translated into 17 seats to the NDP's 34, with the Socials reduced to just seven.

With that, the Liberal leader was called in from the wilderness to take on the role of opposition leader. Said a Liberal Wilson: "The people of British Columbia have now, in opposition, a party that will proceed with honesty and integrity, and will embrace the role of public opinion." And, he added positively: "We will not be a negative opposition. We will be a positive opposition. It is time to take off our partisan pedometer and work

for the interests of all British Columbians."

It was also a welcome development for the media's resurgent Liberal party in British Columbia, where the campaign for the world's circuit had struck profits with British Columbia's. There, while the NDP under former attorney general Roy Roman seemed poised to seize the reins of power from the 60-year-old government of Conservative Premier Garry Doer, the new Liberal had scored into second place in the polls. Said British Columbia's Liberal Leader Lynne Herxenthal of Wilson's breakthrough: "I really think that the B.C. experience is going to have some bearing."

As the Liberal support surged in British Columbia, attention focused quickly on Wilson, a Vancouver-born father of two who grew up in Kelowna and later earned an undergraduate bachelor of science degree from the State University of New York and a master's degree in economic geography and resource management from the University of British Columbia. Just prior to last week's vote, Wilson was pressed to explain the 200-pound platform that his party released in August, insisting that it was a wish list that the party drew up when it had no expectations of an electoral breakthrough. Wilson's list included its elements in their areas: electoral and government reform (cutting Social Status for elections and budgets, tougher control of interest rates and limits on campaign spending), reducing the size of cabinet, from the Socials' 33 to 15, by overhauling ministries, and "maintaining the integrity" of the province's health and education programs. Wilson also acknowledged that he had met only about half of the party's 700-hour schedule. But after the election, he said: "We have taken a lot of a part because we didn't have much legislative experience. Let me say to the people of British Columbia that you should not confuse a lack of experience with a lack of dedication or ability."

Wilson now faces the challenge of leading an opposition to the legislature in Victoria made up of the first Liberals elected in British Columbia since 1975. Among candidates for shadow cabinet posts are former Vancouver party board chairman Art Cowie and David Mitchell, a historian and biographer of British Columbia's first Social premier, W. A. C. Bennett. Flashed with the success of his Liberal-bourgeois account, Wilson said: "When I took over the leadership of this party, I said that it will take eight years to get a full government in British Columbia. Well, count them down—1987 to 1991. Four years, four more years to go, and guess what's coming? After the events of last week, Wilson and his supporters could be forgiven for thinking that anything is possible."

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CANADA

A consensus government

Northerners conducted a unique election

For Northwest Territories Government Leader Dennis Patterson, it was a roller coaster in the realities of northern politics. In late August, Patterson flew from Whistler, B.C., where he had just attended the annual premiers' conference, across the Arctic to his home riding of Inuvik, a remote last community of 3,000 on the windswept northeastern shore of Beaufort Island. The Vancouver-born lawyer, who has represented the riding since 1976, returned to face strong

competition for the Oct. 15 territorial election—including new challenges who denounced Patterson for spending too much time with northern first ministers and too little time with his constituents. Patterson, 43, who is married to a high-profile Inuit activist, Mima Uluella, and can converse in Inuktitut, responded with an extensive door-to-door campaign. He talked with voters over endless rounds of black tea and bannocks. On voting day, he drove local people to the polling station in a panguing Arctic wind blew off Beaufort Bay.

Patterson's personal style helped him to win twice as many votes as the second of his two rivals. And his campaign reflected many of those held in the upcoming elections of the Northwest Territories—as were dual accounts for a third of Canada's Indians, but includes only 28,000 eligible voters. With all candidates running as independents, voters cannot rely on party affiliation as a guide. As a result, success in many riding hinges on more basic considerations, such as how many of the candidate's friends or family turn out to vote—if they are not out hunting or trapping on election day. Without political parties, the real business of forming a government takes place after the election. Within the next month, the 24 MLAs elected last week will gather in Yellowknife for a week-long closed-door caucus. There, they will select a government leader and seven others to form the executive council—the equivalent of a provincial cabinet. The remaining MLAs act as a kind of unofficial opposition. But all 24 candidates are free to vote without party considerations.

The so-called consensus government reflects the kind of decision-making that takes

place in the traditional Inuit and Inupiat communities—18 of the MLAs elected last week were natives. The assembly operates a relatively open form of government where the daily Question Period is public—even someone—by southern standards. But with Canadians expressing ambivalent doubt for the parties involved that include southern politics, some northerners believe that their government provides an excellent model for reform. Said Patterson: "We may just have some good



Patterson: an alternative to partisan bickering

experience to offer the rest of the country."

Still, some northerners complain that the absence of political parties leaves the government unaccountable for its actions between elections. As well, many MLAs say that the selection of the executive should take place in public. For his part, Patterson, government leader since 1987, says that he is ready to give up the leadership, but adds that he hopes to return to cabinet in social services minister. Possible successors include Stephen Kakpien, a Dease from the Mackenzie Valley, and Nellie Courchene, an Inuit from the Beaufort Sea region. Whoever wins will have to deal with a complex web of economic and political challenges—while staying in touch with the few hundred voters in their riding who remain their sole power base.

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Citizenship swearing-in ceremony: a Canada clause that reads like a checklist

A problem of definition

Is Canada just the sum of unpoetic parts?

In theory, it should be a glorious declaration of the identity and imperatives of the nation. In reality, the proposed "Canada clause" in Ottawa's new constitutional package has prompted many Canadians to wonder whether constitutional-makers should ever be allowed to define their first step: presenting a crisp declaration of Canada. Ottawa delivered a dry 14-point checklist in the proposal that it unveiled last month. Men and women, the proposal asserts, are equal. Governments must promote the linguistic balance in Quebec and Canada as a whole—although Quebec has a special responsibility to preserve and promote its distinct society. The federalists' identity "encompasses the characteristics of each province, territory and community." Tolerance is important. After 124 years of often turbulent and occasionally triumphant history, Canadians might wonder if their nation was simply the sum of those unpoetic parts.

The clause is, in fact, a strong illustration of the problems that plague modern constitutional-makers—and the nation. As a 30-member joint House of Commons and Senate committee reviews the responses of Canadians to the 55-

page constitutional package in cross-country hearings, the Canada clause is coming under scrutiny for what it includes—and for what it leaves out. Federal officials told *Maclean's* that the clause became part of the package for both symbolic and political reasons. Those officials believed that an inspiring preamble—a Canada clause—would greatly ease Canadians' uneasiness the Constitution would thus reflect their identities and their dreams. But those officials also calculated that an affirmation of Canadian characteristics and values would mollify Canadians who resisted the incorporation of Quebec as a distinct society. If other Canadians could recognize themselves in the Constitution, officials reasoned, they would not resist Quebec's recognition.

But the constitutional-makers left a further Canadian wall, although they could agree on the components of the nation, they had difficulty drawing a definition of the whole that would appeal to all provinces and to all groups. The result, critics note, is a clause that is a ledger list of the demands of the various constitutional interest groups. And political scientist Robert Young, of the University of Western

Ontario in London, "We are committed to well-being and to sustainable development but apart from being rich and being environmentally correct, we are not committed to anything. The clause is simply a list description of what we are in 1991."

First definition of Canada could change. Ottawa's proposal simply lists points for inclusion in a preamble. It does not present those points in a legal text. As a result, the joint committee could suggest major changes to the clause when it reports to Parliament by Feb. 28. Some experts recommended scrapping the clause entirely because, they say, it secures the nation's diversity—and his therefore because non-existent and existing symbol of Canada's divisions. Other experts—judging since federal officials—suggest that the clause could be expanded in response to Canada's demand for a social charter that would protect such programs as pensions and welfare.

Still others argue that the Canada clause—although not in its current form—could fulfil a longstanding goal of University of Calgary political scientist Roger Giddens. "There is a need for people to see their own reflection in the Constitution—to have an opening to the Constitution—that can convey what Canada means to them and to their children. The current proposal is really a checklist. It will be difficult—but we should try to come up with a poetic statement that people will look at and say, 'Yes that is my Canada.'"

That yearning for an inspirational definition of Canada arose during the stormy debate over the failed Meech Lake constitutional accord. Prime Minister Brian Mulroney and 10 provincial premiers reached the second package of constitutional amendments in 1987 after closed-door, high-pressure meetings. The accord was designed to win Quebec's acceptance of the Constitution Act, 1982, which included a Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms. Many French-speaking Quebecers applauded the Meech Lake provisions, especially the recognition of Quebec as a "distinct society." But many English-speaking Canadians vehemently maintained that Ottawa was transferring too much power to the provinces, especially to Quebec. Observed Michael Adams, president of Toronto-based Conservative Research Group Ltd.: "In the wake of Meech Lake, there has been an increase in English Canada of the proportion of Canadians who favor the status quo—from 37 to 44 per cent. Meech Lake was seen as giving special status to Quebec. In response, English-Canadians are asserting their strong traditional values—such as free-

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of provinces and in areas of individuals."

The proposed Canada clause illustrates the difficulty of translating those defining national values—no Quebec and to the rest of Canada—into constitutional prose. Quebec has demanded recognition as a distinct society—and a constitutional veto over changes to key constitutional. Many English-Canadian in turn have demanded constitutional recognition of the principle that all provinces are equal. The two visions cannot exist side by side in a preamble. The University of Calgary's Gibbons, for one, points out that a clear assertion of the equality of the provinces might interfere with attempts to achieve the Senate or the constitutional amending formula. "Provinces could invoke that principle," he says, "to insist that each one must receive an equal number of seats in a reformed Senate—although the current federal proposal merely suggests an 'equal' division. As well, it might be impossible to grant a special veto over constitutional change to Quebec, either provinces could argue, for example, that they, too, were entitled to an equal veto."

Those arguments distress many possible proponents who contend that the proposed Canada clause simply ignores their vision of the nation to avoid confrontation with competing voices. Bryan Schwartz, for one, a law professor at the University of Manitoba in Winnipeg, maintains that the proposal's wording is triple and other misleading: it refers to the well-being of Canadians, for one, while the package as a whole sets higher limits on Ottawa's ability to isolate Canada-wide social programs. More important, he says, the Canada clause has stopped short of any ringing declaration of nationhood. "There is talk about the commonality that binds part of Canada, but there is absolutely no recognition of the fact that there is a larger national consensus in which everyone participates," says Schwartz. "This is what people have said that they wanted from Canada: we are Canadians first and then we are everything else."

Still, the inclusion of such warning phrases could have unforeseen constitutional effects. At first glance, the proposed Canada clause appears relatively powerless. It would not confer a direct right or responsibility on any government. It must not stipulate that the constitution must be interpreted in light of its 16 basic values. Ottawa has demanded the clause as a simple reflection of Canada's characteristics and values. But every word in a constitution has meaning. During the 1830s and the 1850s, for example, the Supreme

Court of Canada occasionally cited an obscure phrase in the preamble to Canada's written constitution, the British North America Act, 1867, to uphold freedom of the press and free speech in Alberta and Quebec. The preamble states that the Canadian Constitution is "in accordance to principle to that of the United Kingdom."

The judges reasoned that the clause referred to a parliamentary democracy depending on an informed electorate, which, in turn, depended on a free press and free speech. Observed John Whyte, dean of law at Queen's University in Kingston, Ont. "Where there is a real paucity of direction in the Constitution, the courts will go anywhere to find a source for what they want to say. In the future, the courts

bring standard while operating in French. The distinct society provision cannot do that if it is restricted to the charter. But if it is as the preamble, it could give the distinct society more power. In a gray area, the courts could view the division of powers in the light of this Canada clause provision."

Despite the potential for unexpected interpretations, the Canada clause in a relatively powerful constitutional tool. As a result, Ottawa officials have not welcomed Ottawa's suggestion that the clause could be expanded to respond to the province's demand for a social charter. The proposed preamble merely states characteristics and values; it does not impose direct obligations upon governments. Officials at Ottawa's

New Democratic Party government have carefully stipulated that the courts should not have the power to enforce all aspects of the social charter. But Ottawa has also suggested that the courts could use the charter to protect key elements of social programs the courts could ensure, for one, that all Canadians have access to social programs in all provinces. It is not likely that the courts would have that power if the social charter were merely tucked into the preamble. But David Cameron, the province's deputy minister of intergovernmental affairs, "You could expand the Canada clause to talk about the shared values that Canadians have in the social policy field. But I just do not see that as expanded Canada clause—that is a possibility—would do the trick by itself or have the power."

Such problems have left the parliamentary committee with a difficult—and perhaps impossible—task. As a result, many experts are skeptical about the fate of the Canada clause. Observed University of Toronto political scientist Richard Simons, "Rather than answering all of the things that we have in common, it lists our diversities. I do not know how you weave that into something more elegant." Some experts express the belief that the task is impossible. Queen's University's Whyte adamantly declared, "It should be dropped. It is not the clause for the time. We do have a three-tiered sense of ourselves today—and the Canada clause is not a counterbalance." Ottawa is more hopeful. Supported the University of Western Ontario's Young, "You could have a contest to see who could write the best Canada clause. We must have better writers somewhere in the house." If nothing else, the contest would bring home to Canadians the difficulty of synthesizing their divided nation.

could now see value in the Canada clause that they could then use to develop a new interpretation." As an example, he cites the clause's recognition that the aboriginal peoples were "by and by self-governing"—something that the courts could use to expand the definition of aboriginal rights to include self-government.

Other experts suggest that the proposed clause could expand Quebec's right to preserve and promote its distinct society. Under the current proposal, the controversial distinct society clause would be located in the charter of rights—and could only affect the interpretation of charter rights. But the Canada clause also refers to Quebec's responsibility to preserve and promote its distinct society. Said Thomas Courchesne, director of the School of Policy Studies at Queen's University, "The distinct society is, in essence, an economic issue. Quebec should have enough freedom so that Quebecers can earn a North American

level of income. That is the goal. It is not about the fact of the Canada clause. Observed University of Toronto political scientist Richard Simons, "Rather than answering all of the things that we have in common, it lists our diversities. I do not know how you weave that into something more elegant." Some experts express the belief that the task is impossible. Queen's University's Whyte adamantly declared, "It should be dropped. It is not the clause for the time. We do have a three-tiered sense of ourselves today—and the Canada clause is not a counterbalance." Ottawa is more hopeful. Supported the University of Western Ontario's Young, "You could have a contest to see who could write the best Canada clause. We must have better writers somewhere in the house." If nothing else, the contest would bring home to Canadians the difficulty of synthesizing their divided nation.

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Thomas (left), Bush at swearing-in ceremony on the White House lawn (2 to 6) in a cloud of suspicion continues to linger

WORLD

TAINTED VICTORY

CLEARED FOR THE SUPREME COURT, CLARENCE THOMAS LEAVES THE U.S. PEOPLE DIVIDED OVER HARASSMENT

Battered by one of the most bruising confirmation battles in U.S. history, Clarence Thomas emerged from his Alexandria, Va., home last week moments after the Senate had voted 52 to 48 to confirm his nomination to the Supreme Court. "No matter how difficult or how painful the process has been," and Thomas, shuffling from an attorney now known as a legal hawk, "this is a time for healing." In fact, the legacy of his experience, intensely televised Senate Judiciary Committee inquiry into allegations that Thomas had sexually harassed Anita Hill when she was an assistant of his a decade ago seemed likely not to be healing—but bitterness. Most senators decided to give Thomas the benefit of the doubt even there

was no way to prove Hill's accusations. But many female activists expressed angry disagreement. And after the vote, roughly 100 women demonstrated on the steps of the white-columned Capitol. Crying "We'll remember on November 3," they called for a united front to contest the Senate of offending senators in national elections just 12 months away. Said Kate McInerney, president of the National American Rights Action League: "We must take our personal anger and organize in 1992 to be an effective political voting bloc."

But the heated struggle among women's groups was just one of the consequences of the notorious 107-day confirmation process. The leader states that had hung over Washington during the Senate vote last Tuesday had

dered by the fact Thomas stepped forward on the White House lawn last Friday, placed his hand on a Bible and pledged to uphold the Constitution. As a noted, judicial swearing-in ceremony scheduled for Nov. 1, the 61-year-old black conservative appeals court judge will officially ascend to the Supreme Court and replace Theodore Tamm, the black liberal judge who resigned in June. But some observers worried that a cloud of suspicion will continue to linger over Thomas. And many critics of the televised inquiry, including President George Bush, condemned the swiftness of the process that prevented the spectacle that prevented critics, using open and pre-emptive law to reach an estimated 20 million to 30 million as part of a last-minute liberal plot to undermine the nomination. On Oct. 12, a panel of four witnesses sought to rebut the conspiracy theory by testifying that Hill had told them at the time of the alleged incidents that she was being sexually harassed. Susan Horowitz, a worker in Thomas's office in California, said that Hill told her that Thomas repeatedly asked her out. Said Horowitz: "She said he wouldn't take no for an answer." The committee also reviewed transcripts of an interview with Angela Wright, another former employee of Thomas's, who claimed that he had groped her for her buttocks and made inappropriate "comments about my anatomy." And Hill voluntarily took a polygraph test, which she passed. But the senators ruled that it was not admissible in the hearings.

Another panel of witnesses, however, testified that Thomas could never have stopped to think before. Declared Diane Hill, who was Thomas's secretary at the time: "The chairman Thomas that I have known for 10 years is absolutely incapable of the moves described by Hill." The witnesses also offered an endorsement of Hill as a pious young woman who wanted to look as the chairman's secretary. Added J. C. Alvarez, a Chicago businessman and Thomas's special assistant at the time: "She definitely came across as someone who was naïve and watched out for her own advancement."

After 30 hours of testimony over three grueling days, it came down to which of two articulate black Americans—Thomas or Hill—could be believed. According to public polls, Americans sided strongly with Thomas. On Oct. 15, the most conservative of the two and two women of the Senate. During a day of numerous debates, Republicans sought to undermine Hill's credibility, and Senator Jesse Helms of Pennsylvania even accused her of committing perjury. Democratic Senator Bob Dole of Kansas, however, defended Hill. "The Commission [SJC] in the early 1990s," he said, "but in a pointed reference to Kennedy's own reputation for womanizing, Senator Helms' "We do not need characterizations like 'woman-

accused of Hill's allegations that the Senate decided to delay today on the confirmation and reopen the Judiciary Committee hearings."

On Oct. 15, under harsh lights at a darkened Senate Chamber room, Hill testified that Thomas repeatedly asked her for dates when she worked for him from 1981 to 1983. And in graphic detail, she accused him of leering about his own sexual prowess and of discussing lower-level matters, including descriptions of beauty and rape stories that she said he claimed to have witnessed in pornography. But when asked, and in testimony throughout the next, Thomas unapologetically denied all the allegations. And in a view that shocked many witnesses, he looked on at the nomination process, saying that it had unpleasantly recalled his reputation and shored his family.

Some Republican senators on the committee, meanwhile, suggested that Hill was either imagining the events or had avoided the charges as part of a last-minute liberal plot to undermine the nomination. On Oct. 12, a panel of four witnesses sought to rebut the conspiracy theory by testifying that Hill had told them at the time of the alleged incidents that she was being sexually harassed. Susan Horowitz, a worker in Thomas's office in California, said that Hill told her that Thomas repeatedly asked her out. Said Horowitz: "She said he wouldn't take no for an answer." The committee also reviewed transcripts of an interview with Angela Wright, another former employee of Thomas's, who claimed that he had groped her for her buttocks and made inappropriate "comments about my anatomy." And Hill voluntarily took a polygraph test, which she passed. But the senators ruled that it was not admissible in the hearings.

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World Notes

SOVIET ECONOMIC UNION

Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev and eight republicans presented a last-minute treaty to create a new economic union. Azerbaijan, Ukraine, Georgia and Moldova refused to join the pact, which could help ease the country's breakup into hostile economic units. Meanwhile, pro-independence leader Leonid Ter-Petrossian was a landslide election to become the first democratically elected president of the republic of Armenia. The new-defunct Soviet Union's republics, which declared independence on Sept. 22,

SCRAPPING NUCLEAR ARMS

Meeting in the Solovki resort town of Novaya Zemlya, NATO's nuclear disarmament forum approved President George Bush's decision last month to scrap all battlefield nuclear weapons, including short-range Lance missiles and nuclear artillery shells. They also agreed to cut NATO's stockpile of nuclear warheads by 50 percent by 1998. The British Defense Secretary Thomas Wing said that the deal would cut Europe's nuclear arsenal by 60 per cent.

SUMMING UP CONGRESS

Cardinal leading party declared a formal end to more than 15 years of communism, vowing to permit multi-party democracy and to adopt a free-market system. That was expected to be followed by a peace accord, ending 10 years of civil war. He was greeted by the Vietnamese-backed Cambodian government against the extreme hard-line Communist Khmer Rouge and two small non-Communist factions.

A GUNSHOT APOLOGY

The U.S. army announced that, despite a \$100-million investigation, it has not been able to determine the exact cause of a 1989 explosion that killed 67 sailors aboard the battleship Iowa. Admiral Frank Kelso, chief of naval operations, apologized to the family of Gunner's Mate Charles Harvey, who was killed, for a spinal survey report that implicated him in the explosion.

DEATH ON THE TRACES

As overnight express passenger trains headed for Paris from North Atlantic head-on, a high-speed train from the capital, killing 24 people and injuring 26 others. The crash sent both train engines and several cars plowing into overhead power lines and trapped passengers in the interlocked wreckage. Jacques Fournier, the president of the state railway company, said that the freight train went through a red stop sign, but he declined to say how.

in this chamber from the senator from Massachusetts."

In the end, most legislators voted along party lines, even the Senator's two women Democrats. Barbara Mikulski of Maryland voted against the nomination, Republican Nancy Kassebaum of Kansas supported it. But 11 Democrats joined 41 Republicans to confirm Thomas. Many of the 11 are southern Democrats who have re-elected last year and will contend with large black constituencies. Some polling showed strong support for Thomas among blacks. The pre-Thomas Democrats said that the hard allegations had not been proven. And they argued, an Illinois Senator

affected by the notice of the attacks on my character." But she said that she had done her duty by coming forward. "I am hopeful," she added, "that others who have suffered sexual harassment will not be discouraged by my experience, but instead will find the strength to speak out about this serious problem."

In fact, many women's rights activists said that Republican attacks on Illinois' natives and moral authority would discourage harassment victims from coming forward. And they expressed anger that the Judiciary Committee that heard her testimony was composed of 14 white men, middle-aged and older, who, they claimed, failed to understand the experience of

black. His only redeeming virtue is that he is ideologically sympathetic to President Bush."

And some black leaders expressed anger that Thomas claimed during the Senate inquiry that he was a victim of racial attacks. "He played the most vicious game of racial politics," said Emma Jordan, professor of law at Georgetown University in Washington. She added: "He descended deeper and deeper into the Pandora's box of race as he sought to salvage his candidacy. And he accused the committee and persuaded them from pursuing the real issues."

Only the second black ever to serve on the Supreme Court, Thomas succeeds the first, Marshall. And unlike the senators who confirmed Thomas, he is eligible to serve. In his new role for life and the eight other justices will clearly have immense influence in shaping public policy through their interpretations of congressional legislation. In one of the first major tests likely to face Thomas and his colleagues, the court may soon have to consider an abortion case that could lead to the overturning of *Roe vs. Wade*—the controversial 1973 ruling that guaranteed American women the right to abortion. During the confirmation hearings, Thomas refused to state his position on the issue. In fact, he testified under oath that he had never even discussed *Roe vs. Wade*. But most analysts claim that Thomas is against abortion.

Both sides in the abortion debate predict that, with a conservative-majority court, not only would *Roe vs. Wade* be overturned, but the position could go even farther in restricting women's legal rights.

Establishing that fetters have been rights. Arguing American Democracy's Paul "You would then hold women responsible for unborn children and control their thinking and thinking. It may sound horrible, but who is there to check the Supreme Court when there is only one view, one perspective?"

Clearly seeking to dispel such concerns, Bush predicted last last week that Thomas will prove to be an "independent justice" who will surprise many of his critics. And although the President called the Senate inquiry "deeply offensive," he conceded that it has at least unsettled many Americans in the wake of sexual harassment. With women's groups pledging to fight for change, that new sensitivity could yet coalesce into a powerful force that shapes American politics long after Thomas completes his remarkable journey from boyhood poverty in Georgia to a seat on the highest court in the land.

REILLY MACKENZIE in Washington

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Mikulski: "I am hopeful that others who have suffered sexual harassment will not be discouraged."

Kase-Dixon put it, that "Judge Thomas is entitled to the presumption of innocence."

But survey results to be published this week in a U.S. law journal show that many of the nation's parents did not reach the same conclusion as the majority of senators did. This weekly National Law Journal, in a poll of 100 U.S. judges, found that only 22 of them said that they found Thomas's testimony more credible than Hill's—compared with 41 who reached the opposite conclusion. The other 37 said that they were unsure.

Hill herself went back to Norman, Okla., last week teaching a class in constitutional law with the same topic. But even so she struggled to remain her normal life, attacks on her credibility continued. Oklahoma State Representative Leonard Sullivan, a Republican wrote to the president of the university asking him to dismiss Hill because, he said, millions of Americans believe that she is a "fascinating liar." It is a news conference at the university, that said that she had been "deeply hurt and

in the same. Declared Patricia Ireland, executive vice-president of the National Organization of Women: "Women across this country saw in a mirror what we are not there and they don't represent us." Added Ireland: "Women have put on power suits, worn sensible shoes and played the game by the rules, only to find themselves the victims of sexual harassment—and they're angry."

Still, with public opinion polls showing that the pre-Thomas forces included many women, women's rights groups will likely face difficulty in translating their anger into a nationwide voting bloc. Similar complexion exist within the black community. Despite popular black support for Thomas, many leaders of black organizations have opposed Thomas as a conservative who, they say, has consistently failed to support affirmative action and civil rights legislation. Declared Ronald Walters, chairman of political science at Washington's Howard University: "Disappointed black parents were passed over for someone with more creden-



Cautious expectations

Arabs and Israel agree warily to talk peace

For more than four decades, their passions and their lives have been ruled by an unquenchable and unresolvable hostility that convinced them to fight until the last man and countless civilians elsewhere. But last week, the highly improbable—if not the almost impossible—seemed close at hand for the Israelis and the Arabs. The governments of Israel and its Arab neighbors, as well as leaders of the two million Palestinians under Israeli occupation, personally agreed to attend a Middle East peace conference in Madrid beginning on Oct. 30. But with each side still suspicious of the other, few expected that the talks, sponsored by the United States and the Soviet Union, would quickly resolve issues that have kept the region in turmoil since the foundation of modern Israel in 1948. Said U.S. Secretary of State James Baker, the conference's chief architect: "The road to peace will not be simple."

The historic agreement climaxed a week of grudging Arab-Israeli concessions and intense negotiations by Baker, who had logged more than 100,000 miles in eight years' missions to the Middle East since March. Under the agreement, Israeli invitations to the Madrid conference were delivered jointly by U.S. and Soviet envoys to the governments of Israel, Syria, Lebanon, Jordan and Egypt, as well as to representatives of the Palestinian Liberation Organization. President George Bush, who is scheduled to open the conference along with Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev, urged Israel to embrace the controversial concept of exchanging land for peace and to the latter Arab-Israeli land. The talks, said Baker, "had the potential to bring true peace and security to the peoples of the area."

But despite Baker's success, there was no mood of celebration. Observers on both sides said that Israelis and Arabs contemplated the meetings with no enthusiasm or faith in the outcome. But would it be worth the cost of U.S. assistance, economic or military, at both Baker himself was guarded in his comments at a just news conference with Soviet

Foreign Minister Boris Yeltsin on Oct. 15 in Jerusalem. Achieving a lasting Middle East peace, Baker said, "will be extremely difficult, with many problems, many tensions and probably many uncertainties along the way."

Perhaps the biggest problem is the question of Arab lands that Israel seized in the 1967 Six-Day War. Israel has insisted that a lasting



AP/WIDEWORLD

West Bank Palestinians organizing with Israeli soldiers: the best chance for peace in four decades

Middle East peace will be possible only if its security is guaranteed. But Syria, for one, has said repeatedly that it will not cede Israeli security until Israel returns the Golan Heights, the West Bank and the Gaza Strip. Meanwhile, opponents said that the agenda for the Madrid conference, if it works, will protect only sides on the appearance of giving in to the other. Four days after Bush and Gorbachev perched at the largely ceremonial opening of the conference, Israel will begin direct talks with each of the Arab states in Paris. Two weeks after the opening, Israel will embark on multilateral negotiations with Arabs on such regional issues as arms control, water resources and the environment. That stage will introduce a major obstacle because Syria has declared to take part until Israel accepts the status of ending host for peace. Said Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir last week: "If the negotiations with the Syrians do not succeed, everyone will know whose fault it was."

But for months, it had been the Israelis who had stalled the conference negotiations, agreeing to attend only if the Palestinian delegation had no connections with the Palestinian Liberation Organization and did not include residents of Israeli-occupied East Jerusalem. Last week in Tunis, the PLO Central Council approved the participation of non-member Palestinians, who will be part of Jordan's delegation. The Palestinians then gave Baker the names of some of the delegates but asked him not to divulge their identities to the Israelis.

Shamir said that Israel reserved the right to examine the list to make sure none of the people on it belonged to the PLO. But Baker refused, and he also told reporters that he had not been able to get Israeli's agreement to attend the conference. However, after a meeting with Pasha last Friday, Shamir said that he would likely sign his right-wing cabinet to

support the peace conference "because I don't see a better alternative." Shamir said that Baker told him "he got a list of Palestinians who seemed in general the organizations we presented." Although Shamir said that he believed Baker, he added: "Israel will find ways to check it."

The peace process received a further boost with the announcement by Pasha and Israeli Foreign Minister David Levy that the Soviet Union and Israel were restoring diplomatic relations, severed by Moscow following the 1967 war. In a joint statement, the two said that the action "fully serves the establishment of a lasting peace and stability in this region." It was a sentiment that Washington and Moscow could only hope would sway Arabs and Israelis as they embarked on the first tentative steps towards reconciliation.

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South Africa police arresting black protesters: international condemnation

THE COMMONWEALTH

Rewarding democracy

Mulroney links foreign aid to human rights

With an emotional hug of greeting and warm smiles, the two men bore the air of old and comfortable acquaintances. In fact, just last week, Prime Minister Brian Mulroney and Nelson Mandela, the leader of South Africa's African National Congress, had met each other only once. But after they had lunch together last Thursday in a private hotel suite in Harare, Zimbabwe, both were looking more to the future than to the past. As leaders from the 50-nation Commonwealth organization gathered for their biennial conference, Mulroney and Mandela said that they were awaiting the end of conflict in South Africa—and the start of another. And Mulroney, who has made support for Mandela and opposition to apartheid, communism of his international policy. "The next time the Commonwealth members meet, it is possible that

conflict in South Africa may allow it to exist as a free state," said Mandela. "I am full of encouragement for our goals."

For Mulroney, still beleaguered and unpopular at home, said Mandela, who told reporters that he was unopposed to the fight in South Africa for "violence and extreme oppression," the Commonwealth conference provided each with some unadorned encouragement. Leaders said that they would gradually resume cultural exchanges and air links with South Africa to encourage its transition to racial democracy. But after two days of informal meetings with several leaders, Mandela left Harare with a promise: that the Commonwealth group will maintain economic sanctions, an embargo on arms sales and South Africa's exclusion from most world organizations until Pretoria fully repeals its apartheid policies. For his part,

Mulroney was proud for Canada's stand on South African issues and his increasingly aggressive stance on human rights. Said Mandela: "Prime Minister Mulroney has given us strength and hope."

Still, it also became clear that the Commonwealth leaders were confronting a series of new challenges and divisions. Among them, the increasing disparity between industrialized and developing countries, and a new push to introduce Western-style democracy to one-party states. But the most heated topic of debate was an assertion by both Britain and Canada that they will increasingly link future foreign aid for poorer countries to their human rights records. Said British Prime Minister John Major: "The bedrock of what we do must be the practical application of democracy and human rights." Added Mulroney: "Canada will not subsidize repression and the stifling of democracy."

The stance is particularly significant because of the apathy human rights records of many Commonwealth countries and the crucial role that Canada and Britain play in their funding. In recent years, London-based Amnesty International has criticized 34 Commonwealth nations for their human rights performances. Currently, 16 member nations are non-party states. At the same time, Britain, Canada, New Zealand and Australia are the biggest donors of foreign aid to other Commonwealth members.

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offered development assistance to Commonwealth countries, much of it to African nations. Canadian officials said that they are actively working to reduce poverty in levels to countries with poor human rights records because, said a Mulroney aide, "you cannot go talking out of development commitments when they are only partly fulfilled." As well, officials said, they already take human rights into account in their development aid. But Mulroney said that in the future, "We shall increasingly be channeling our development assistance with an eye to respect for fundamental rights and freedoms."

Despite the careful diplomatic tone of the meeting, the reaction drew vocal criticism from some other leaders—particularly those whose countries could be directly affected. One such leader is Kenyan President Daniel arap Moi, whose country now receives \$30 million in annual aid from Canada. Moi, a staunch advocate of single-party systems since his election in 1979, has said that Kenyan advocates of multiparty democracy should be "battered down like ants." Shortly after Mulroney made his remarks at a closed session with other leaders, Moi approached him during a coffee break. Mulroney would not discuss the tone of his conversation with the Kenyan president. But he said to Moi, "He heard my remarks and he understood my message clearly."

In fact, Moi was not the only leader to express alarm. In a speech shortly after Mulroney's address, Indian Prime Minister Narendra Rao said that Commonwealth countries "should not preoccupy themselves with democracy." Instead, he said, they should concentrate their efforts on helping backward countries develop their economies. Earlier, the leader of the host country, Zimbabwe's President Robert Mugabe, said after a post-conference meeting with Mulroney that he approved the linking of human rights with financial aid because "money cannot create values."

But Mugabe, who after 11 years in power has only recently—and grudgingly—approved the establishment of multiparty democracy, also has reason for concern. His government, which receives \$30 million in annual aid from Canada, is regarded as one of the more progressive regimes in southern Africa. Still, it has been repeatedly cited for human rights violations. In one graphic instance, Zimbabwean riot police in Harare whipped, trampled and killed protesters in late July last week as they broke up a peacefully peaceful demonstration of about 2,000 university students protesting support of human rights and academic freedoms. Said one Canadian official, "We haven't ruled out that this sort of thing is longer acceptable."

Politely, Mulroney and other Canadian officials say that Canada's aggressive position is simply a continuation of foreign policies that

the Prime Minister has espoused since his election in 1984. But privately, they acknowledged that a combination of national and international changes has lent new weight to that tone. Canada, like other Western countries, faces a barrage of requests for financial assistance to rebuild the shattered economies of Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union since the fall of communism there. As well, many underdeveloped countries had previously played Western powers and Moscow off against each other in order to extract more aid from both sides. Now, with the Soviet Union standing its foreign-aid program, Western countries are

Western standards. Canada must consider the degree of improvement as change that the regime has made or planned to make.

But some activists in Mulroney's circle said they made a significant error in their decision to have the Prime Minister visit Gabon just before the beginning of the Commonwealth meeting. Mulroney aides said that they decided to make the trip because many Canadian businesses—particularly from Quebec—have significant interests in the west-african oil country, which is French-speaking. As well, they said, Gabonese President Omar Bongo, who has previously courted political opposition, is now preparing to allow a multiparty system. But Mulroney's advisers acknowledged that the Prime Minister's visit to the capital of Libreville, where he announced \$30 million in grants and loans to Gabon, had attracted widespread media criticism because of the heavy Gabonese military presence and because of the strong criticism between the opposing lifestyles of President Bongo, who lives at a residence larger than Buckingham Palace, and the grinding poverty of most Gabonese citizens.

At the Commonwealth conference, Mulroney and other advocates of the Canadian delegation often displayed an aggressive manner and approach that contrasted sharply with the more reserved style of the Canadian ministers. Mulroney has tended to adopt more aggressive tactics when attending meetings of NATO and the Group of Seven industrialized countries. In fact, these international settings, Canada plays a relatively junior role. But at the Commonwealth, said one official, "We have the muscle and we like to use it."

That is a message that is being sent with increasing frequency in the future. Canadian officials said last week that the principle of not attending at other nations' annual affairs, which has traditionally been a key element of Ottawa's diplomacy, is no longer valid. Said one official, on occasion of negotiating "Suez in the mid of the Cold War, we are no longer as unattractive as we are." And, said a blunt Mulroney, if less-developed countries choose not to endorse Canada's notions of democracy but still seek aid, "they will be making a long, long time." As Canada tries to do this, it will need changing global policies, Mulroney has already decided that the tough talk provides the quickest route to a kinder, gentler world order.

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THE UNITED STATES

Tragedy in Texas

A shooting spree leaves 23 people dead

It was Boston's Day at Kafeen, Texaco, and Lab's Cafeteria were exceptionally busy as local workers celebrated by treating their employees to lunch. Shortly before 1 p.m. last Wednesday, about 200 patrons were sitting at tables or standing in line to choose their meals when a light-blue Ford pickup truck crashed through the plate glass front window. In the 10 traumatic minutes that followed, the driver of

The Texas massacre was the biggest shooting spree in the United States since a similar incident in 1884, when an unemployed security guard shot and killed 21 people in a McDonald's restaurant in San Ysidro, Calif. Last week, as ambulances and helicopters from nearby Fort Bliss army base ferried 23 wounded people to area hospitals, residents of Killdeer, a small town of 48,000 about 100 km north

lost. Hernandez, who lived in their neighborhood, had harassed her, teenage and another daughter over the summer, and that he had seen them a lot since they had left. At first in prison "Did you and your sister find it new in prison?" He says that the three of us could get together someday. Please provide the instructions of somebody laughing in the face of all those mostly white, middle-class female voters from two towns who tried to destroy me and my family." Police last week were unable to make sense of the latter.

Susan Robinson-Hernandez, an elementary school counselor who survived the massacre, wrote a dramatic account of the ordeal in the *El Paso Daily Herald*.

"The guys started to run out for hours, even though it lasted only a matter of minutes. I kept my face to the ground and my eyes closed. The sound of the bullets began to grow louder and louder. It seemed like they were getting closer to my head. Then the sound started fading away. It seemed to be circling the cathedral's dining area. I didn't think he was going to leave my area so alive. Then came a brief silence in the gunfire. I was hoping he was out of bullets. But then I heard a creak, the chilling sound of a gun being reloaded. 'Was it worth it?' he said. SAM told me that the gunfire had stopped. 'Well, now it was worth it!' SAM told me. SAM said, 'Well all these fucking wounds on Betha are that? I wonder if they'll drink it was worth it!'"

rovers after the massacre, the House of Representatives began debate on a crime bill that included a provision banning personal ownership of 13 U.S.-made semi-automatic assault weapons. The two 9-mm pistols used by Henshaw, a 17-shot Glock and a 15-shot Ruger P29, were not among them. But New York Democratic Representative Charles Schumer argued that the provision, which also banned automatics, clips holding more than seven rounds, would have put "a target" to how many bullets that mothers

ers have filed." The measure was the support of Democratic Representative Chas. Edwards of Texas, whose district includes Kilborn. A longtime opponent of gay control, Edwards said but following the massacre, "suddenly the old arguments ran half-way." But the House, under pressure from members of the powerful National Rifle Association and others, voted 247 to 177 to exclude Schaner's provision from the crime bill.

At week's end in Kilborn, flags flew at half-staff and shaken residents attended church funeral services for the victims, trying to find some meaning in the senseless slaughter. But Governor was pessimistic. "The abuse, whites, whites, who—we may never get them hanged on," he said. "Harvard is the only one who really knows."

ANDREW PILSKE with *corrections@indy.net*



the truck opened fire with two semi-automatic pistols, methodically shooting victims, usually in the head, at close range. At a hotel two doors away, police were attending a low-enforcement seminar head shots and saw a woman running from the colonists shooting. "He's crazy! He's got a gun! He's killing everybody!" Officers ran to the scene and shot and wounded the suspect four times before he died after shooting himself in the head.

In the nine minutes that followed, 33 victims and their killer lay dead or dying on the blood-stained floor or slumped at tables, victims of the worst massacre in recent U.S. history. San Police Chief Francis Gassman: "The only thing that kept it from being much worse was the proximity of undercover officers to the scene."

plaintiffs, reported stolen and straggled. And puzzled police began searching for the killer's motive. Caucasian bolts never confessed the next day that because 14 of the victims were female, investigators were attempting to determine whether gunman George Jo Bonnard, 35, an unemployed former merchant marine sailor from the nearby town of Bellini, had a particular grudge against women. In fact, two Bellini women said that they had turned police against Bonnard's strange behavior for months before he went on his killing spree; but that their claims were ignored. Said Jim Jerome, 15, who called the six dead and recovered victims' phone calls from Bonnard: "It's awful. They had done something, those 22 people, would not be dead."

Her mother, Jane Ryan, 45, told reporters,



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Workers manufacturing flags at a plant in Mississauga, Ont. "We are losing our way of life in a war without bullets."

BUSINESS

A FAILING GRADE

Donald Thew has little trouble coming off a list of staggering blunders by the managers of some of Canada's largest corporations. Among the most embarrassing examples cited by Thew, who has been a professor at the University of Western Ontario's school of business administration in London since 1967:

- Bombardier-based Datsun Inc.'s \$700-million purchase of Algoma Steel Corp. Ltd. in 1985, an investment loss it was forced to write off within three years.

- Glaxo Inc.'s of Montreal's diversification beyond its core telephone industry into real estate, financial services and pipelines, only to discover that few of the new businesses were

A NEW STUDY ON COMPETITIVENESS FOCUSES BLAME FOR CANADA'S ECONOMIC ILLS ON MANAGEMENT

as profitable as communications and that some of them were huge money-losers.

- Robert Compton's disastrous foray into U.S. real estate in the 1960s, work subsequently destroyed by Canadian real estate agents as his company's prime properties were sold off at bargain-basement prices to pay off the multi-billion-dollar debts that he incurred.

Those blunders, Thew said in an interview, are only the most flagrant examples of widespread bad management at Canada's "Canadian managers have made as many major mistakes, especially in the past five or 10 years," he said.

"The governance of Canadian corporations is pretty close to a disaster."

Canadian managers, who often blame labor,

foreign competitors and government for their problems, are about to get their own winds sipped for bad management by an influential U.S. academic. Michael Porter, a professor at Harvard University's business school in Cambridge, Mass., comes down hard on Canadian managers in a report on Canada's competitiveness to be made public on Oct. 24. Porter, an adviser on international competitiveness to former U.S. president Ronald Reagan, reached his conclusions after studying Canada's competitive position in world markets. According to a small number of businessmen and scholars who have read advance copies of Porter's study, he blames Canadian managers, among others, for much of Canada's eroding ability to compete. For their part, many leading Canadian executives concede that they must shoulder at least some of the responsibility for the slumps.

"We have opened under the delusion that we were all right," Jack A. and Frederick Teimer, chairman of Hamilton-based steel manufacturer Stelco Inc., in an interview. "Now, we have to play catch-up."

Porter's report, commissioned by the Business Council on National Issues, whose members include the chief executives of 160 large corporations, is the latest in a series of studies that have given poor ratings to Canadian managers. Earlier this year, the World Competitiveness Report, prepared by the Swiss-based World Economic Forum, ranked Canada's

ranking to fifth place from fourth overall in its annual competitiveness ranking of 34 industrialized countries. The report ranked Canada fifth in terms of skilled labor, but 11th in managerial capability, behind Japan and the United States. Swiss economists warn of dire consequences unless Canadian managers improve. Said Thew: "We are losing our way of life in a war without bullets."

In a series of interviews with managers, academics and management consultants, the conflict of employee relations is one area where Canadian companies consistently receive poor marks. While high-ranking executives often say that their employees are their company's most important asset, many recent studies conclude that Canadian managers fail to involve their employees in substantial decisions and that companies' profits are suffering as a result. Said economic consultant Mark Borch, president of Maple Rock & Associates Inc. in Toronto: "Too often, companies manage their workers as if they are liabilities that cost money, instead of assets that produce profits."

Charles McMillan, a management professor at York University in Toronto, said that Canadian managers treat their employees like obstacles when they should be asking them to help improve productivity. As a result, he added, Canadian firms are wasting a valuable resource that their Japanese competitors, among others, have harnessed. Declared McMillan: "Toronto gets three million suggestions from its workers every year, and it acts on 96 per cent of them."

Some high-ranking executives acknowledge that the analysis' criticisms may ring true. "In the past, there has not been high regard for what you can get paid by listening to the lower levels," said Gordon Dwyer Sharp, chairman of the Toronto-based Shaw-Sorenson Inc. "It's the combined thought of people in a company that are going to keep it competitive, not just the top executives."

Although many Canadian business leaders agree that they must play more actively to their employees, they remain substantially less than their counterparts in training programs than their Japanese and German competitors. Academics say that this staid attitude is hurting productivity. Said Lester Thew, dean of the school of management at the McMaster University in Toronto: "In Canada, as a speech delivered to Canadian business executives this summer: 'The Japanese get more flexibility out of their so-called flexible manufacturing systems than we do in North America, even when we have the identical pieces of equipment, because their employees are more skilled at using the equipment.'"

Thew also added that the gaps in education between North American and Japanese workers are most acute at the lower levels of the corporate ladder. He claimed that while the top 20 per cent of Canadian students are well educated, the low end of the population lags far behind. "Look at the bottom half of a Japanese high-school class," he said. "There's nothing in Canada that can come close." Thew said that 90 per cent of all Japanese high-school students graduate, and all of those

Business Notes

INFLATION COOLS

In its first drop this year, the consumer price index fell by 0.2 per cent in September, compared with August—the largest monthly decline since January, 1983. That brought the annual inflation rate down to 5.4 per cent, after two months at 5.6 per cent and a 1991 high of 6.6 per cent in January, when the Goods and Services Tax was imposed.

THE BRICKMANS RETIRE

Toronto's billionaire Brickmans family plans to raise \$650 million in cash by selling its 86-per-cent share of the U.S. oil pipeline firm Canadian Natural. The Canadian group is expected to be sold to the United States' Edgewater-based International Pipe Line Inc., which is controlled by the Brickmans, announced that it will sell its interest to U.S. investors. Analysts said that the family appears to be reinvesting from the oil-and-gas sector and channeling money into its \$5-billion Cheney Wheelright estate development in London.

U.S. GIANTS STUMBLE

Two of the largest and most powerful corporations in the United States posted disappointing third-quarter financial results. Citicorp, the largest U.S. bank, reported a staggering \$999-million loss and suspended its annual dividend for the first time in six centuries. And giant International Business Machines Corp. announced that its third-quarter profit fell 85 per cent compared with the same quarter a year ago, declining to \$194 million on revenues of \$14.3 billion.

UP, UP AND AWAY

Confident investors pushed stock exchange indexes in New York City and Toronto to their highest levels in months. New York's Dow Jones industrial average of 30 industrial closed the week at a record 2,077.16 points. The Toronto Stock Exchange 300 composite index posted four days of strong gains, and closed the week at 3,482.34 points.

BLACK GOES PUBLIC

Canadian publisher Conrad Black's controversial media empire is set to hit the Australian newspaper group John Fairfax Group Pty. Ltd. Terms of Fairfax Ltd.'s bid, which under Black and Australian billionaire Kerry Packer, were not announced. However, employees of Sydney-based Fairfax, which went into receivership last year, threatened to sue the proposed deal, saying that it would "be a further concentration ownership" of the Australian news media. Packer already owns Australia's Channel Nine TV network.

gratuities have either at least one calculus course in Canada, only 70 per cent graduate, and less than one per cent take calculus.

But although Canadian workers have less formal education than their Japanese counterparts, experts say that good managers can overcome that gap. McMillan, for one, said that workers at recently opened Japanese-owned auto plants in Canada, such as the Honda Canada Inc. factory at Alliston, Ont., and the Toyota Canada Inc. plant in Cambridge, Ont., have quickly become just as productive as their Japanese workers. Said McMillan: "The Japanese have taken Canadian workers and turned out products that are the equal of anything in Japan. It proves that employee-management relations are a fundamental issue."

Still, Canadian labor leaders complain that many Canadian executives fail to consult workers in their own plants and show little real interest in working together with unions to set business goals. Nancy Byrne, executive vice-president of the Canadian Labor Congress in Ottawa, said that auto industry managers will severely negotiate with labor leaders as long as Canada's unemployment rate remains high and there is a plenty of cheap labor. Added Byrne: "We have a class society in this country. It's one of the reasons why unions have not been granted to sit down with managers and look at questions of competitiveness and productivity. They are seen as lower-class."

For their part, many managers say that workers will also have to make sacrifices in order to improve relations between the two sides. Steven's Teitner, who had to shut down his company's mills during a 300-day strike by the United Steelworkers of America last year,

says that union leaders must agree to be some of their members' compensation packages to company profits. "People have to have a stake in their business," he said. Teitner warned that Canadian companies will have to look both their management and union sides in order to remain internationally competitive. He said that the cost-cutting "internationalization process" prompted by the recession is "by no means finished." Indeed, Beck and other management consultants predict that the widespread layoffs of middle managers in recent years will likely



Porter: warning of dire consequences

argues that fierce domestic competition between companies is a key factor in a country's overall ability to compete internationally. Concluded Porter in the book: "The study, in a way I could not anticipate, has led me to a conviction that incentives, effort, generosity, innovation and especially competence are the sources of economic progress in any nation and the basis for productive, satisfied citizens."

Porter has an eclectic education, which includes an engineering degree from Princeton University in New Jersey and an MBA and a doctorate in economics from Harvard. He first attracted widespread attention in the business community in 1985, when then-President Ronald Reagan appointed him to the executive committee of his influential Council on Com-

petence. Said Beck: "You don't want to bog your knowledge workers down with layers and layers of management."

When asked, many business leaders offer a different view of Canadian management's greatest weaknesses. Jon Pattison, chairman of the Jon Pattison Group of Vancouver, for one, said in an interview that Canadian managers tend to work harder and be tougher with their employees. "We tend to be too conscientious and we don't make the hard decisions fast enough," he said. "Canadian companies tend to be more conservative than American management. They tend to struggle longer with people who aren't performing."

Pattison added that both Canadian and U.S. managers leadership better than their Japanese counterparts. He said that on a trip to Japan, where he visited the top executives of Toyota, he found that the executives worked steadily all weekend. When Pattison returned home, he tried to contact the head of a major U.S. company that he says is losing "big, big money." But, although it was Wednesday afternoon, the executive was out getting

Shit, that type of complacency appears to be fading. "It starts with a realization that the company will either rise or crash" if tough choices aren't made, said Teitner. "When people are dumb and lazy, it seems they need a crisis to make them confront the problem." But with the Porter report adding to evidence that Canada's ability to compete is on the decline, managers will find it increasingly difficult to put off making those hard decisions.

BRENDA DUNGLIN with
PATRICIA CHRISTIAN in Toronto

petence. To facilitate his off-campus projects, Porter founded his own consulting company, Monitor Co. The firm now employs 300 consultants, and last year it generated revenues of \$59 million. Monitor has one Canadian office, in Toronto, which did much of the research for the Business Council study. As well, his four day academic books have earned him more than \$2.5 million in royalties.

Despite Porter's success, many academics are critical of his theories. They claim that his work borrows heavily from earlier economists and that the complex model that he uses to evaluate a country's competitiveness is suitable only for such large, centralized economies as the United States.

Porter's off-campus interests are also eclectic. He was born in Ann Arbor, Mich., the son of a U.S. army officer. He played football in high school and golf in university. Later, Porter managed rock bands and collected art, but today he has little time for the pursuits for his consultants have become so numerous that he touches only one class.

B. D.

THE DEAN OF COMPETITION

Michael Porter is hardly a household name. But the 44-year-old Harvard business school professor has a knack for writing best-sellers and now regularly receives \$25,000 for delivering a speech to business audiences. Indeed, Porter is a management guru who has become the unofficial dean of international competitiveness.

Following the publication last year of his weighty but influential book, *The Competitive Advantage of Nations*, Porter attracted the attention of Canada's Business Council on National Issues. The corporate lobby group commissioned him to study Canada's ability to sell its goods and services abroad using the model he has applied to 20 international trading nations in the book. The federal government, in turn, agreed to pay \$400,000 of the \$1-million cost as part of its own competitiveness initiative. The Porter model focuses first on factors that make individual industries in each country competitive. Then, Porter makes inter-country comparisons. Based on his research, Porter

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Canada

A show of strength

The Canadian dollar continues its surprising ascent

When Lazare Weston began importing shoes to Canada from the Far East 15 years ago, he says, the last thing he expected to become was an expert in foreign currency trading. But now, the 52-year-old president of VWF Enterprises Inc. of Woodbridge, Ont., located 60 km north of Toronto, says that he must keep a close eye on the value of the Canadian dollar in order to remain competitive in a recession-battered domestic retail market. During the 1980s, Weston had to cope with a dollar that was low in value relative to the U.S. dollar and other key foreign currencies. That dented his firm's purchasing power overseas and cut into its profits. But over the past year, the dollar has climbed by nearly 3.5 cents (U.S.) to 68.72 cents (U.S.), its highest level in 13 years. Weston says that the strong dollar has given him a crucial edge over domestic shoe manufacturers in a soft retail market, he adds. "There are too many sellers chasing too few buyers to get an acceptable profit from a strong Canadian dollar."

For the moment, the currency edge enjoyed by Weston and other Canadian importers over North American manufacturers appears to be secure. For their part, Canadian manufacturers and resource companies have been demanding that Ottawa take action to lower the dollar in order to help boost their foreign sales, despite figures released last week showing that Canadian exports to the United States reached a record level of \$9.7 billion in August. However, the complaints of the exporters, who rely on some three million Canadians, have met with little response. Indeed, Finance Minister Donald Mazankowski told a business group in Tokyo last week that Ottawa will not interfere in international currency markets—unless if the dollar declines further. Mazankowski clearly recognizes that the dollar is being supported by powerful international market forces, the most important of which is the attractiveness of Canada's still relatively high domestic interest rates. Moreover, some currency traders predict that the Canadian dollar will climb even higher. Says Graham Smart, vice-president of foreign exchange at the Canadian Imperial Bank of Commerce in Toronto: "We're looking



Weston: a crucial edge for importers in a battered economy

for more strength in the dollar ahead. It should get to around 80 cents [U.S.] and then pause while the bubble bursts again."

At first glance, the dollar's recent strength appears puzzling. It has continued to climb even as Canadian interest rates have dropped to their lowest levels in four years. That appears to fly in the face of the traditional theory that falling interest rates drive investors to spend their money where the rates are higher. But despite a drop in the key prime rate, which looks cheap to their last customers, to now per cent from 14.75 per cent over the past year, Canadian interest rates remain almost three percentage points higher than comparable U.S. rates. As a result, international investors seeking a solid return and a presence in North America are still attracted to Canada. Says Susan Clark, chief economist at the brokerage firm Baymount-Greenwald of Canada Ltd. in Toronto: "We may be in a lot about things like our

constitutional crisis, but that doesn't scare global investors. They see Canada as a low-risk market with a strong, stable currency."

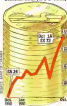
In the first half of the year, foreign investors swapped up \$17 billion worth of government and corporate bond issues, taking advantage of Canadian interest rates. Sweet said that investors currently receive a return of about nine per cent as a provincial government bond, and slightly higher for a corporate bond.

By lowering the cost of imports, the continued resilience of the dollar is also assisting Bank of Canada governor John Crow in his battle against domestic inflation. According to Donald MacArthur, president of the Toronto-based Canadian Importers' Association, about 30 per cent of the goods that Canadian consumers buy are imported. Those cheaper imports have helped curtail increases in the cost of living by offsetting the impact of domestic tax and price increases.

But that benefit is of little help to Canadian manufacturers and natural-resource companies who say that the strong dollar has hurt their bottom lines. Montreal-based Canadian Pacific Ltd., for one, is heavily dependent on foreign sales of oil and forest products. Last year, the company earned a profit of \$65 million on sales of \$10.5 billion. But company executives say that each one-cent U.S. rise in the value of the Canadian dollar reduces its profit by \$21.4 million. In fact, the company cites the strong Canadian dollar as one of the principal factors contributing to the \$165.2-million loss recently reported by its subsidiary, or Trans-Products Ltd., on sales of \$1.47 billion in the first nine months of 1991.

Some economists, however, say that the increased pressure from the high dollar on Canadian Pacific and other exporters has been a healthy development that has forced them to become more internationally competitive. "The easy route for Ottawa would be to give in and devalue the currency to stop the exporting," says Clark, "but that would just allow industry to get fat and lazy again. We did it with a 70-cent [U.S.] Canadian dollar." She adds that after years of "living in a state of corporate denial," Canadian companies are now being forced to take the tough measures required to cut costs and enhance productivity. But for the many companies that are still reeling from the recession, that prescription for long-term benefits is especially bitter taste.

ONWARD AND UPWARD
Weekly rising value of the Canadian dollar (in U.S. cents)



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Cultural cross talk

More companies cater to immigrant tastes

At first glance, the bed on display in the furniture department at Eaton's downtown Toronto store looks like any other standard-sized double. The \$399 price for the model, with may-be-a-dream-like cover, the mattress and box spring, is even in the same range as the others. But the brand name, Dr. Bredt and an extensive knowledge, the result of its uniquely constructed layers of padding, make this a bed unlike the others in

the particular, the more than 300,000 immigrants who have arrived in Canada from Hong Kong in the past decade on a strong market for many companies. Compared with previous generations of new Canadians, they are generally better educated and wealthier. To reach out to the Hong Kong-born consumers and other ethnic buyers, some companies are using foreign-language advertising on billboards and in newspapers. Despite the added costs of

growing Asian markets. "As a percentage, the Asian business is insignificant, but it is growing faster than the rest of the market," says Glen Ho, executive assistant to company president Harold Elliot. "There is great potential." On 12 last November, Ho was managing director of Best Foods' Hong Kong affiliate before moving to Toronto, where he initiated a three-step program to attract more Asian customers. First, Best manufactured limited amounts of Keweenaw and other products based on the same recipes employed in Hong Kong. Then, the company applied integrated labels—in English, French and Chinese—as arguments for Asian specialty grocery stores across Canada. Now, Ho says that Best Foods is ready to move on to the next stage—advertising the products in mainstream supermarkets.

The service sector also has found that it pays to tailor business to newcomers. The Canadian Imperial Bank of Commerce set up a specialized Asian Banking Group three years ago. Today, nine Commerce branches in Vancouver, Calgary, Toronto and Montreal have Chinese-speaking staff and separate areas where Asian customers can bank in private. "They are used to receiving very good service in Asia, and they expect a comparable level of service here," says the group's Toronto-based general manager, Simon Kwok.

Since advertising and marketing experts, however, question the ability of long-established Canadian companies to tap the full potential of ethnic markets. The main problem, says David Stanger, senior vice-president of Bob at Lovell Advertising, Vancouver's largest ad agency, is the lack of good contacts on ethnic tastes and buying habits.

"Advertisers consistently sit at about marketing to ethnic groups," says Stanger, "but because there are so few statistics available, they are struggling with their decisions in intuition."

Other businesses, however, say that experience has taught them all they need to know about ethnic marketing. Larry Percel, president of Toronto-based Percel Personnel Ltd., says that his company began advertising in Chinese-language newspapers two years ago. Because the results proved so positive, Percel Personnel, which has three stores in Montreal and Toronto, started advertising in the Chinese-language daily newspaper *Sing Tao* about two weeks ago. "We know the ads will be better people come in during lunch," Percel says. He and other executives have discovered firsthand that they can generate new profits in many languages.

BARBARA WICKENS



Stanger finding new and lucrative markets among the diverse ethnic communities in Canada.

the department. Toronto-based Sanson Canada Ltd. introduced Dr. Bredt mattresses in June after soliciting input on requests from Asian Canadians for mattresses that were closer to what they were used to back home. The latter beds, says Patrick Thody, president of Sanson Canada, are made from specifications that the company's affiliate uses for manufacturing beds on sale in the Far East. Adds Thody: "With the number of Asians coming to Canada, we expect this bed will account for 30 per cent of our sales."

Sanson Canada is one of a small but growing number of Canadian companies that are starting to develop new products and advertising strategies specifically for consumers from different cultures and backgrounds. Executives with those firms say that they have already found new and lucrative markets among the 3.2 million Canadians—about 13 per cent of the population—whose mother tongue is neither English nor French, and whose product preferences are still strongly influenced by the prevailing tastes within their ethnic community.

For example, the more than 300,000 immigrants who have arrived in Canada from Hong Kong in the past decade on a strong market for many companies. Compared with previous generations of new Canadians, they are generally better educated and wealthier. To reach out to the Hong Kong-born consumers and other ethnic buyers, some companies are using foreign-language advertising on billboards and in newspapers. Despite the added costs of

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No yellow brick road to the United States

BY PETER C. NEWMAN

A couple of months ago, I wrote a column in this space on the Price Waterhouse survey that reported that dependable executives skip cent, post by emigrating to the United States.

A Toronto-area couple who four years ago moved to Spring, Texas, a Houston suburb, for new jobs here, chafing against ambiguous terms, their utterances, flathead observations serving as a warning to any footloose Canadian considering a similar transfer to the United States "perishes" across the border. "Your attitude isn't," wrote Yvonne Percy, a chartered accountant and University of Western Ontario who went south with her attorney husband, "because too many Canadians think that going to the United States is all roses and more money. Coming at a chief executive or being transferred within your own firm may be better, but coming as we did, to take new jobs without strings, companies, is not a basically sound road. We might have returned after a year, but our funds were so low that we could not re-buy the house we had sold a year earlier near Toronto."

The Percys had owned a 3,000-square-foot, three-bedroom house in a prime in Oakville, purchased a respectable home in Texas. While any Canadian survey agency charged that American houses cost less than half as much, Percy notes that the purchase price fails to reflect the total picture, or compare lifestyles. For one thing, Texas houses are constructed under less strict building standards—quicker build, little or no insulation, slabs instead of foundations and so on.

More important, municipal services that Canadians take for granted are billed extra. The Percys face a special monthly levy for street lighting and police in addition to their property taxes. "To have security protection," Percy writes, "our telephone pays 70 per cent of the local cost of the call. Actually, our property taxes doubled between Oakville and Houston. If you want your children to attend a decent

"The commuter vehicle of choice is a heavy pickup. And more than a third of the drivers are armed with handguns."

local school, you have to live in an area where the property tax is double or triple the average one, since education now receives virtually as much funding."

While mortgage payments on houses are tax-deductible in the United States, none of the expenses listed above qualifies, and there is no capital gains exemption on the sale of principal residences. According to Percy, one reason why the U.S. cost of living is so much higher than it appears from the sale of the border is that most American transactions involve middlemen. Despatching of telephone companies, which has created a separate long-distance service, means that you pay two phone bills, usually double the equivalent Canadian costs. Monthly cable television charges are also twice as high. "We sure miss the telephone and banking staples," laments Percy. "The banknote charge for everything, and you have to keep working them, in case they go under and freeze your deposits."

But care is anticipated, expensive and tedious from your child's teacher's note. To get proper attention for their daughter Stephanie, now 6, the Percys had to move her six times in the past 40 months. For her to attend kindergarten in a private school, the family had to pay

\$6,650 a year, drive her eight kilometers twice a day and pay \$5 an hour for after-school activities.

"In the legal system here," complains Percy, "the attitude is, 'If you aren't like something, then sue.' Crime is rampant. Houston, with only one-third more people than Toronto, last year recorded more than 800 murders, compared with Toronto's 54. The district attorney's office won't touch a white-collar crime unless the investigation causes a conviction. Times printers are overworking and the cops don't know it. The police bring them in, and the next day they're not again. It costs about \$1 million to take a murder trial through to the death penalty. The commuter vehicle of choice is a heavy pickup. And more than a third of their drivers are armed with handguns."

Apart from the violence, the Percys have noted a definite difference in ideologies between the two countries. "Canadians are more willing to give up their individual rights for the good of the whole," Percy claims, "while Americans are based on individualism, trying always to be the best. They are especially aggressive while Canadians by comparison are passive. The pursuit of individualism is very strong and both the drug scene, leading a 'lead for yourself' attitude towards the individual or those who cannot afford medical assistance. The average person may be scared, but it's so fundamental to live and not pursue individual rights that they are at a loss to even realize it may be the cause of some of their problems."

According to the Percys, salaries in the Houston area are lower for comparable jobs, with a qualified corporate controller getting \$20,000—\$25,000 less than the Toronto starting salary for the same job, there are no legislated severance laws, no maternity leaves and, of course, no unions. (The cost of private medical plans is astronomical, but hospitals don't always recognize the money. You pay first and then try to collect from the company.)

"The work week down here is a mess of 40 hours and you only get two weeks' vacation unless you're very senior management," they write. "Social security costs 7.5 per cent of income for the full-time employee and \$3.5 per cent for the self-employed."

Texas laws are different from ours. A company law against, for example, full property rights from the federal government, while both state and federal governments impose estate taxes. Something called the Federal Homestead Act prohibits the use of one's home to raise equity financing. Mortgage rates are considerably lower in the United States, but many more are involved in about as many transactions as that set into legal and real estate firms but such special laws as an organization that are required. Each subdivision has its own water district, which can run out to be expensive.

Despite these and other problems, the Percys are not coming back to Ontario. "After four years and some rough times, we're doing fine," the Percy letter concludes. "We love the weather and the lifestyle and aren't longing to return to Canadian winters. And we love Sunday shopping."



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Diana greeting well-wishers; Charles with William (opposite); many royal-watchers say their marriage is effectively dead

COVER

CRUSADING ROYALS

On the sidewalk of a run-down back street in Hackney, one of the poorest and roughest parts of London's East End, a couple of hundred schoolchildren were lined up in a row, clearly nervous. Clutching handmade Union Jacks, they peered excitedly down towards the end of the street and were soon rewarded. A dark green Jaguar glided up, a policeman rushed to open the left rear door and out slid a pair of legs, slim legs clad in dark stockings. The young woman, once unnamed, pulled herself up to her full height of 5 feet, 10 inches and, with a well-practiced gesture, turned with a smile to let everyone get a good view of her before she disappeared into a church. Inside, she dispatched a priest aimed at helping water-city children.

**ATTENTION WILL
LIKELY FOCUS AS
MUCH ON THEIR
PECCADILLOS AS
THEIR PET CAUSES**

soon. She made small talk, smiled some more and then, after 45 minutes, was whisked off to lead her royal presence to yet another worthy cause. It was another working day for Diana, Princess of Wales, and she was doing what she does better than almost anyone else, she was simply being nice.

Power: That has always been Diana's role. But as Canadians will find this week when she and her husband Prince Charles begin a seven-day visit to Ontario, the royal couple are increasingly using their potent drawing power to promote social causes that they have made their own. It is their third visit to Canada since they married a decade ago, and their schedule in Sudbury, Toronto, Kingston and Ottawa will be notably short on the glitz and ceremony that was once the hallmark of royal visits. Instead, it

will be long on encounters heavy with social significance. Diana is to visit sick patients, hospitalized women and disabled children. Charles will visit convicts at a rehabilitation centre and provide over a meeting between business leaders and environmentalists on the theme of "sustainable development."

Even the royal couple's official welcome to Ontario will take place not in Toronto, but at a traditional flag-raising ceremony in Sudbury, where, on Oct. 24, the prince was scheduled to give his blessing to a \$200-million construction program aimed at controlling pollution at Lake Huron's shoreline, refining and smelting operations. A gala evening is planned for Toronto's Royal York Hotel on Saturday night, but even it was designed as a fund-raiser for the same cause, a national literacy campaign, and Lester B. Pearson College of the Pacific on Vancouver Island, one of Prince Charles's royal charities.

"They both feel there must be a sense of purpose when they visit," one of the couple's senior aides told last week, on condition of anonymity. "They didn't want to be just hand-shakers." Showing that view is Robert Davies, chief executive of International Business in the Community, a London-based nonprofit organization that was established last year at Prince Charles's instigation and which expanded his mission with businesses and environmentalists in Toronto this week. Said Davies: "You are really seeing not a ceremonial couple, but very much a working couple."

Tabloid: That is the issue the Prince and Princess of Wales would like to avoid. But, inevitably, attention will focus as much on their personalities and peccadillos as on their pet causes. As to how long and quiet the visit of the United Kingdom, Canada and their other dominions, Charles and Diana are arguably the most celebrated, scrutinized and suspected couple in the world.

At 30, she has become the undisputed star of the royal real show. Each detail of her clothes, friends and household are grist for Britain's tabloid newspapers, which track almost her every move. He provides his own drama with sometimes tortured attempts to find a meaningful role for himself in early 1980s age (he turns 43 on Nov.

14) as he wants to inherit the throne from his mother, Queen Elizabeth II, who at the age of 65 shows few signs of slowing down. And together, the royal couple are the targets of media speculation about the state of their marriage, which marked its 16th anniversary on July 26.

But the prince and princess who will be on display in Ontario this week and next are, by most accounts, happier and more stable than some reports might suggest. Diana, in particular, has settled into her public role as royal wife and her private life as mother to sons William, 11, and Harry, 7, with remarkable success. She has grown through her earlier occasions

as "Sly Ex," the 18-year-old beauty plucked from obscurity to marry a future king, and "Disco Diva," the rebellious young wife who insisted on playing rock music at home to the disgust of her still older father.

Hostility: Now, in Britain at least, she is riding a wave of popularity in a kind of secular St. Diana—she is almost a saint, juggling a career and her responsibilities as a mother (although with ample help in both areas). Criticizing Sarah, the Duchess of York, who is widely described as greedy and vulgar, and Prince Edward, who is dismissed as an erratic failure. Even Prince Charles frequently encounters

public hostility for supposedly neglecting his wife and sons at favor of his own solitary pursuits. Only the Queen herself and the intractable, 91-year-old Queen Mother—the other tough women who keep the Windsor dynasty flourishing on the eve of the 21st century—real Diana in popularity with the British public.

The princess's candor of her public role was apparent during her recent visit to Hackney Upclose, she is not quite the stunning beauty she is reputed to be. Her nose is too big, for one thing, and constant dating and marriage have made her no longer so close to the almost angelic Aali like many tall women, she tends to slouch slightly to disguise her height, that like a professional model, she looks better in photographs than in person, photographers claim it is almost impossible to take a full picture of Diana. But these days, she is disappointing them as at least one aspect, she no longer wears different outfits at each appearance and frequently wears casual clothes when at work. In Hackney, she turned up in a black jacket and grey skirt, prompting some of the photographers who dog her every step to lower their lenses in disgust. "It's quite odd-looking," said James Whitaker of the London tabloid Daily Mirror, who has reported on the Royal Family for more than 20 years.

She's getting away from the disheveled image."

Indeed, inspecting a church project for poor children and later at a nearby day care centre, Diana managed to combine royal image with at least the illusion of accom-



At least the illusion of accom-

CHARLES AND DIANA ARE THE MOST CELEBRATED COUPLE IN THE WORLD

bility. She put on her "concerned" expression to chat quietly with social workers, people who run drug-treatment programs among the city's large, black population, and mothers of handicapped children. She viewed architectural plans for remodeling the church hall, and looked charmingly flustered when the crowd pulled out not make the camera stops on cut. She managed to convey concern about the inadequacy of social programs in poor areas without going so far as to imply criticism of government. It was a delicate performance—one of more than 300 that the princess will give this year.

Controversy: All the leading members of the Royal Family lend their face and prestige to charities, and Buckingham Palace has more than 90 engagements that range from anti-poverty to the groups that she favors promote safe sex, uncontaminated water, underprivileged children, the deaf, marriage counseling and the arts. But as caretaker to the role of avoiding controversy is the princess's high-profile role as patron of Britain's National Trust. As far back as 1957, when concern about becoming infected by AIDS through sexual contact was widespread, Diana was photographed shaking hands with AIDS patients in a gesture aimed at breaking down public fear of the disease. And in a speech in London last April, she told her audience that people who carry the virus have, which is believed to cause AIDS, should not be shunned. "You can shake their hands and give them a hug," said the

princess. "Homes know, they need it."

Since she took up the cause, Diana has made AIDS donors a regular feature of her appearances—and she is scheduled to visit Casey House, a Toronto AIDS hospice, on Oct. 25. Her concern for AIDS sufferers also has a personal dimension. In late August, a close friend of hers, London art dealer Adrian Woollacott, died as a result of the disease. Diana visited him in hospital several times just before he died, for

as long as seven hours at a time. "His death brought the whole thing home to her in a very personal way," says Margaret Jay, director of the National AIDS Trust. "And her involvement is tremendously important in enforcing public attitudes." It is also worth noting to charities like the same Trust: wealthy donors, engineers, trendy couples, are more likely to be generous donors to charity if they have a chance of meeting a celebrity like Diana at the same time.

The prince's concern has won her much public approval, but some critics as well. A London newspaper reported last week that she has received letters and on the subject, although her office later declared it empty as "angry letters." Diana has adopted a similar approach to another divided subject: leprosy. In Indonesia in 1986, she shook hands with leprosy patients in an attempt to counter the myth that the disease can be contracted through touch.

Prince Charles's own recent AIDS program has been altogether more risky. In fact, David's beauty, poise and highly visible role as devoted master to prince William and Harry make her a tough competitor for the affections of the British public. Expectations are also much higher for Charles, as heir to the throne, he cannot get by without live news on behalf of worthy causes and an occasional carefully scripted speech. And the prince's own indecisive and inquisitive mind would not allow him to visit passively for his abhorrence. The Windsor women are notoriously long-lived, and the Queen could well survive another quarter-century. That would make Charles close to 70 before he finally ascends the throne.

Equilibrium: A few years ago, the prince was great to heads of genuine dignity when contemplating his role. In 1987, after undergoing public criticism for his controversial views on modern architecture, Charles told a radio in-

The Queen at Buckingham Palace, Diana, Charles and Spain's Queen Sophia; Princess Anne: unprecedented scrutiny

g reviewer: "There's no need for me to do all this. I can't just sit around and do nothing. If they'd rather I did nothing, I'll go off somewhere else." Since then, however, he has recovered his equilibrium and brought his interests into sharper focus. In 1988, he wrote and hosted a well-received BBC television documentary setting out his criticisms of modern architecture and urban planning. He followed that up the following year with a book, *A Vision of Britain*, in which he argued that architects should turn back to classical models in order to develop "urban villages" that incorporate human scale and promote a vibrant street life.

The prince's influence on British architecture has been considerable. His criticism of modernist projects, including a planned steel-and-glass addition to the National Gallery at Trafalgar Square, which he labeled "a monstrous caricature on the face of a much-loved

and elegant friend," and a major project in the shadow of St. Paul's Cathedral, his criticism of Charles is promoting backward-looking "parachute" of old styles, but the prince shows no signs of retreating. Only last week, plans were unveiled for a £10-million development on land he controls in Dorset, in southwest England, that will incorporate the architectural principles he has championed. "He is putting his money where his mouth is," said the couple's aide.

At the same time, Charles has continued to expand on plans he took up a decade ago. They include a social role for business in regenerating inner cities, environmental protection, organic farming and eco-rational medicine. Indeed, earlier this month he announced plans for another book that will describe how he has promoted environmentally sensitive farming at Highgrove, his estate in rural Gloucestershire. His views are always carefully

crafted in diplomatic language, but during the mid-1980s, they contrasted clearly with the emphasis of the Conservative government of Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher on free-market development by simply taking restrictions off private enterprise. In the more socially conscious climate of the early 1990s, Charles's views are less controversial—that his supporters are quick to point out—it is society that has changed, not the prince.

Exposure: Charles's interest in matters spiritual has also demystified those Britons who prefer their myths to be in the days-to-earth, no-nonsense tradition of Prince Philip, the Queen's husband, and Charles's mother, Anne, the Princess Royal. In July, Charles spoke to a gathering of psychiatrists and urged them to place less emphasis on treatment by drugs and more on spiritual healing. "The most urgent need in Western man," he said, "is to rediscover that divine element in his being without which there can never be any possible hope or meaning in this earthly realm." It was the type of statement that earlier this year prompted a leading British psychologist to label the prince a classic neurotic. Dr. David Weeks, who conducted a major study of 4,000 eccentric people, concluded that Charles is, in general, an outspoken and "obsessive neurotic." But Weeks also noted that he was not saying that the prince was insane. Nonetheless, he said, one of the sanest and happiest groups in society.

Eccentric or not, Charles's wife-coming intellectual outbursts have not made his 16-year-old marriage any smoother. By all accounts, Diana's interests run to poetry, art, music, fashion and family. But psychological insights are on her list of things she feels being her confidantes are mainly old girlfriends whom, it is said, she does not suspect of



Smile, Beatrice (left), Eugenie and

A Report Card On The Family

Britons are intensely interested in knowing which members of the Royal Family work hard at carrying out far-reaching but often highly visible tasks, including official speeches and making overseas trips—and which do not. Since 1970, Tim O'Donovan, a London insurance broker, has kept a meticulous record of official royal activities. In his latest tabulation of the activities of 12 members of the Royal Family between May 1, 1990, and April 30, 1991, Anne, the Princess Royal, emerged as the busiest member. O'Donovan's figures for official engagements carried out by the royals at home and overseas during the period:

The Princess Royal (Anne)	741	Prince Edward	203
Queen Elizabeth II	371	The Duchess of York (Sarah)	178
The Duke of Edinburgh	190	Princess Margaret	159
Charles, The Prince of Wales	295	Queen Elizabeth, the Queen Mother	158
The Princess of Wales	322	The Duke of York (Andrew)	28

seeing her friendship only because of her current love. Charles's inner circle, by contrast, is a kitchen cabinet of *advisorial advisers* who include London architect John Tuzo, the traditionalist who pleases Leon Krier and environmentalist Jonathan Porritt. The prince's and princess's social circles scarcely overlap—emphasizing their sharply different interests.

In fact, say the British royal-watchers who chronicle the couple's outings and gings, Charles and Diana have almost nothing in common aside from their children. Their marriage resembled a love pact less in 1987, when they spent more than a month apart and the British press engaged in a fever of speculation that the royal union might crumble entirely. Since then, they have managed to cultivate a relationship that allows each to pursue separate interests while maintaining at least the outward appearance of married life.

The prince lives mainly at his Highgrove estate, while the princess spends weekdays at her apartment in London's Kensington Palace. They are each other's mainstay on weekends at Highgrove but, by some accounts, even those meetings can be frosty. Earlier this year, the London tabloid *Friday* published a description of their Highgrove weekends that quoted a former police guard there, Alexander Jacques, as saying, "The only time they meet up is at mealtimes, and very often that ends in a blaring row for all to hear."

Gossip: Many royal-watchers maintain that the marriage is effectively dead. The couple, they argue, sing, work, socialize and even vacation almost entirely apart. Charles tends to get most of the blame in the popular press, which frequently portrays him as a remote figure who shadows his young wife to go off flailing at Scotland, rarely making time for his sons and perfecting the company of such longtime friends as Canada's Prince of Wales and Lady Duke Tyrone. The latest round of rumors reached a climax when Charles and Diana spent July 1—his 36th birthday—apart. "He is the most selfish I've ever come across," says the *Daily Mirror's* Whitaker. "He has made no concessions to the fact that he's been married for 10 years. He just carries on his selfish ways."

That view, Charles's supporters maintain, is

awful. Harold Brodie Baker, publisher of *Burton's Pageant and Showbusiness*, the definitive publication on the British aristocracy—and a strong monarchist, argues that Charles and Diana's union was a "well-arranged marriage" to provide Charles with a young, virginal bride of appropriate social background, who would be able to produce an heir for him. "The idea that it was the great love match of the century did a great disservice to the Royal

family," says Baker. "It was arranged, prearranged, in 1981. Some historians Charles will write that their love marriage was not happy. But in her own book, Charles and Diana: Portrait of a Marriage, Joan writes that they have come to love each other 'with the tenderness and affection of two horses who have spent 10 years working in harness.'"

The one thing that almost all those who follow the royal relationship agree on is that the couple will never formally end their marriage. Although Diana's mother deserted her husband for a lover in 1967, abandoning her four children, those who claim to know the princess will assert that she would never do the same. And for the prince, his devotion to his duty as royal heir outweighs all other considerations. "There will never be divorce," Brodie-Baker says flatly.

Scandal: The swirling glare of tabloid attention cast over the couple, and on the private lives of other members of the Royal Family, has opened the monarchy to unprecedented scrutiny. Sarah, the Duchess of York, confessed recently that she finds letters from her husband, Prince Andrew, "a proper shocker for fear that they might find their way into a newspaper." "I think it is better these are little facts that are unknown," she told a television interview.

But the constant hounding has not seriously dented the Royal Family's standing—at least in Britain. A poll last year for *The Sunday Times* and London-based *The Great British* magazine found that most Britons continue to believe that the royals are generally hard-working and respected, and that they do a worthwhile job. As for Charles, fully 58 percent said that they think that he will eventually make a good king. For a man who was dethroned only a few years ago by the press as "prince of Wales" for his unorthodox views, that is a remarkable finding.

Charles and Diana last came to Canada in 1986, to visit Expo 86 in Vancouver. Since then, they have defied their royal rules—both separately and together. Canadians will have to choose their own king to judge for themselves how well the prince and princess have equipped themselves to take the monarchy into the next century.

ANDREW PHILLIPS in London

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THE COST OF THE ROYALS

THE BILL IS ABOUT \$100 MILLION

Two Queen Victoria medals (the Queen in 1842), she inherited not only a worldwide empire, but also a debt of \$250,000. Since that low point, the Royal House of Windsor has done much better financially. Queen Elizabeth II, by most reckoning, the richest woman in the world, with a personal fortune estimated at anywhere between \$4 billion and \$30 billion. But despite the enormous wealth of the Queen and her family, maintaining the monarchy still costs British taxpayers a substantial amount each year, now approximately \$167 million.

Canadian taxpayers get a light, misleading look only when members of the Royal Family visit Canada, in the Prince and Princess of Wales as they do this week (Ottawa, the premier of Ontario and the four municipalities involved) are footing the bill for their week-long stay (Ottawa will not say how much it will cost). The Canadian armed forces will fly Charles and Diana to Toronto on Wednesday and take them home on Oct. 29.

Profits. The monarchy's costs in Britain begin with the so-called Civil List, an annual grant from government revenues that is supposed to compensate the Queen and other royals for costs arising from their public duties. Britain's House of Commons voted the Civil List last year at \$28 million a year for the next decade, \$15 million for the Queen herself, with the rest divided among 16 other royals. Buckingham Palace officials emphasize that the payments are not salaries. Instead, the money is said to cover such costs as staff salaries and day-to-day running of Buckingham Palace, the Queen's London residence. Prince Charles is not on the list (his income comes from the annual profits of his own business, 125,000 acres of land scattered across southern England called the Duchy of Cornwall, which earned about \$5.5 million last year, mostly from rents and profits from agriculture).

Other costs, including the expense of operating the royal palaces, become what will be included in later editions (this week as a sort of starting point for Charles and Diana and their two sons, William and Harry, are borne by various British government departments, but these costs are \$17.8 million a year, the Queen's Flight is lost at airports and helicopters are paid for royal use, which costs \$13

million a year, and the Royal Train (\$4.66 million annually) are featured by the defence ministry. The money of the environment costs another major cost of the royals, the \$48.8 million annual tax for maintaining the palaces and properties.

Recently few Britons appear to begrudge the Royal Family such support. Polls consistently show that most people say that the royals give good value for money; their constant touring is regarded as good for Britain's image, and their very existence is seen by most people as a big boost for tourism. But during the conflict in the

in the House of Commons that the monarchy had been its tax-exempt status in recent years, a Liberal Democrat MP, raised the issue in Britain's House of Commons with a private member's bill that would have abolished the Queen's tax-exempt status. The bill failed. "I cannot justify to people with accounts just above the poverty line and paying taxes, and who pay tax as they are required to do, that the Windsor who by contrast contrast is the richest woman in the country at the same time exempt?" The bill lacked support and died.



The Queen and Prince Philip opening Parliament: questions about her tax exemption

Perseus Gulf last winter, some members of the Royal Family were criticized for hunting, skiing and taking vacations while British forces were fighting. The Duchess of York was singled out for being a swim in fashionable aquatics during the conflict. At all, most people are critical of an aspect of the Queen's informal position: her exemption from most taxes.

Example: Traditionally, monarchs have argued that the sovereign grant pay taxes because they are loved in her lifetime. In fact, according to documents uncovered this year by Philip Hall, author of a new book entitled *Royal Privilege*, both Queen Victoria and her son Edward III paid taxes on their income from private investments. In 1962, it was revealed

The precise extent of the Queen's wealth is a mystery. While such institutions as the Crown Jewels and Buckingham Palace are in effect public property that the Queen holds in trust for the nation, she does have extensive personal holdings. They include a vast collection of art, antiquaries and jewelry, her estates at Sandringham and Balmoral, and an extensive stock portfolio. An authoritative estimate by *The Sunday Times* put her personal wealth last year at \$13 billion. Still, Buckingham Palace officials dismiss all such estimates as "wild guesses." The Queen's Estate, they insist, is "a normal and private estate."

ANDREW PHILLIPS



Cofehead in her Toronto home: flowers for Diana, advice for Prince Charles

A LOYALTY TO THE CROWN

ENGLISH CANADA STILL WANTS A QUEEN

Every night, Lowndy Calnehead, a frail but lively 93-year-old Toronto woman, brings herself a portrait of her queen, Elizabeth II. A dedicated, lifelong monarchist, Calnehead says that her goal is to live to the age of 100 so that she can receive a congratulatory telegram from the Queen. Such fervent devotion to the British Crown is much less common in Canada than it once was, but most Canadians outside of Quebec, regardless of age, still believe that the country should maintain its current ties to the monarchy, according to a Gallup poll released in August. Support for the monarchy is weak in Quebec, the poll showed, and strongest in Ontario, the province that will host a royal tour by Charles and Diana, the Prince and Princess of Wales, from Oct. 23 to 29. For Calnehead, the tour will be another chance to see the monarch speak to members of the Royal Family. "It'll be the apex where they arrive," she said.

Although royal ties always produced displays of public affection for members of the Royal Family, the number of dedicated Canadian monarchists remains relatively small. Edward of the Toronto-based Monarchist League

of Canada, founded in 1978 to preserve and promote the connection to the Crown, say that the league has 17,000 members in 20 chapters across the country. And some constitutional experts contend that the monarchy remains a useful institution. Said one of them, Peter Russell, a political scientist at the University of Toronto: "It's a bulwark device because every country in a world, the political system goes out to seek someone who is above the system to resolve an impasse."

Link: Most constitutional experts acknowledge that the Queen, through her representatives, the Governor General in Ottawa and the provincial lieutenant governors, is rarely called upon to exercise her powers. But John Auer, the 36-year-old Toronto high-school teacher who founded the Monarchist League and who remains its chairman, said that the monarchy is a tangible link with the country's past. He added that having a hereditary monarch as Canada's head of state makes the country different from the United States. But, said the league chairman, "The average American, both school kid or adult, is automatically better informed about his system of government than the average Canadian. This is dis-

tinguing. We should know about our country." Re-problems of how well they understood the role of the Crown, many Canadians continue to believe that the country should retain its ties to the monarchy. According to the August Gallup poll, 80 per cent of those questioned said that the Queen should remain Canada's head of state, while 10 per cent said that the job with the monarchy should be secured. Slightly more than 60 per cent of Ontarians, British Columbia and Atlantic Canadians supported the existing system, while only 25 per cent of Quebecers and 52 per cent of Prairie residents felt that the royal connection should be maintained. Surprisingly, poll participants between the ages of 18 and 29 expressed as much support for the monarchy as those over 60.

But representatives of some organizations based on loyalty to the Crown acknowledge that their attachment draws fewer people. Norman Macdonald, 68, general secretary of the Toronto-based Grand Orange Lodge of Canada, said that his group has about 100,000 members across the country, mostly the same as 70 years ago when the population was one-third of what it is now. Rather, he estimated that the average age of Orange Lodge members is about 80 and said that its youth groups are small. Grace Russell, grand secretary of the Ladies' Orange Revere Association of New Brunswick, said that membership has declined to about 800 from more than 1,500 in years ago. Said Russell: "Our older members are dying off and the younger generation isn't interested in the monarchy at all."

Selecting schoolchildren about the value of the monarchy is also one of the main activities of the Ontario Empire Days Society of Markham, B.G., and society secretary Joyce Aldcroft, 61. She added that Markham has held a festival on Empire Day, a holiday established in Britain to observe Queen Victoria's birthday on May 24, 1818, every year since 1967. Said Aldcroft: "We need our traditions. If you don't know where you came from, you won't know where you're going."

Toronto's Calnehead says that she can trace her monarchist lineage to January, 1961, when Queen Victoria died. Calnehead said that she was only three years old at the time, but that she still remembers the sadness and mourning for her family home in South Sea, Mira, Dor. She said that she saw King George VI and Elizabeth, mother of the present queen, in Toronto in May, 1936, which was the first time a reigning monarch visited Canada. And during royal visits in the mid-1960s, Calnehead presented bouquets of flowers to Princess Anne and the Duchess of York, Sarah. Calnehead added that she expected to host Toronto's international airport on Oct. 23 with a bouquet for the Princess of Wales—and a word of advice for her husband, the Prince of Wales. Charles is better off in a sense, she said, because he can speak on issues that concern him, including architecture and the environment. Not in any way, Calnehead, he will be expected to maintain a royal silence on such issues.

D'ARCY JENNER

LIFETIME ACHIEVEMENT

At 90, after a career that has spanned the regimes of 10 prime ministers, journalist Bruce Hutchison still shares the limelight. On Oct. 30, he is scheduled to receive the Jack Webster Foundation's first lifetime achievement award in Vancouver. Said Hutchison,



Hutchison: (above) fully, no speeches

who writes a weekly column for *The Vancouver Sun*: "There is going to be a dinner, but I'm not making a speech, thank God." A passionate nationalist, Hutchison said that he was "in despair last year after Meech Loko." But now, he says that the situation looks more promising. He added: "The quality of the debate is finally becoming more civilised."



Lady sings the blues

In 1983, Vanessa Williams became the first black woman to win the *Miss America* title—but had to forfeit her crown after *Penthouse* magazine ran nude photos of her. Now, at 25, she is making a comeback. Her second album, a stylized blues collection called *The Colorful Ones*, hit No. 14 on *Billboard*'s R&B chart last week. And early next year, Williams plans to embark on her first U.S. concert tour. The married mother of two says that she regrets her beauty pageant past and wishes that she had concentrated on finishing college instead. "Who knows if it will ever go away?" she asked. But she added: "I don't dwell on it. You can't change the past."

Williams: a comeback

Bottoms up

In Brent Carver's 26 years on the Canadian stage, few of his performances have been as closely as his current role as the moon bison in director Derek Goldley's contemporary version of *Molière's* 17th-century comedy about hypocrisy, *Tartuffe*, now playing in Toronto. Carver's Tartuffe is a bold-thumping preacher who was once with a Canadian rancher, played by Michael Hoag. When he seduces her son's wife, Carver has to expose his hypocrisy—something the actor says took some getting used to. Said Carver, 39: "I sit in actor, not an exhibitor."



Carver: a seductive exhibitor

An artistic success story

Canadian artist Doris McCarthy's autobiography, *A Fool as Paradise*, was a critical success when it came out last year. But the book covered only the first 40 years of her life. Now, a new memoir, *The Good Wife*, picks up where

the last one left off. Declared McCarthy, 61: "I have saved the best for last." The 264-page book, which covers the years McCarthy spent as a respected art teacher and then as a full-time artist, paints a picture of a sensitive woman satisfied with most things about her life.

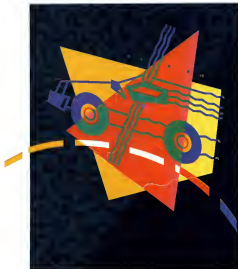
McCarthy: "best for last"



GOODBYE, COLUMBUS

Five centuries after Christopher Columbus's epic Atlantic crossing, Canadian photographer Peter Christopher, 80, set sail with a Spanish crew to re-create the event. Traveling 2,700 miles from the Canary Islands to the Virgin Islands in a 64-foot replica of the *Nola*, Christopher shot about 200 rolls of color film for a new book, entitled *Columbus: For Gold, God and Glory*, written by New Zealand-born nautical writer John Davis. The book, published earlier this month, promises to be controversial. It claims that the Italian navigator may have used an existing map to discover the New World. Said Christopher: "It is going to open a whole new can of worms. We have rewritten history on the most famous explorer of mankind."

But the prolific landscape artist, who paints about 100 works a year, acknowledges at least one "more point" in her like the future of Ottawa's National Gallery to purchase any of her paintings for its permanent Canadian collection. Said McCarthy, who lives in Scarborough, near Toronto: "There is no reason for it—it's just neglect."



Luxury
AUTOMOBILES
OF THE WORLD



A NEW ERA OF JAGUAR EXCELLENCE

THE 1992 JAGUAR SOVEREIGN,
SECURED BY OUR NEW FOUR-YEAR WARRANTY
PLUS NO-COST SCHEDULED MAINTENANCE, AND MORE.

From every angle, in rest or in motion, its sleek presence radiates an aura of sheer elegance and thoughtful grace. It is the new Jaguar Sovereign, and it is as exciting, in every regard, as it looks.

Powered by Jaguar's high performance, 4.0 litre, double overhead cam, aluminum alloy engine, the Sovereign delivers swift, secure, dependably responsive power. Jaguar's 2F electronic 4-speed automatic transmission, with Sport Mode, and a revised suspension system are the perfect complement to this advanced powerplant. It truly is a magnificent blending of art and machine. And, the Sovereign's sensory pleasures aren't restricted to its striking exterior presence and electrifying performance.

A beautifully styled driver and passenger compartment offers a wealth of advanced electronics.



interiors to assure your utmost comfort. Merino finished leather seating and matched leather tastefully complements an interior environment, single-mindedly dedicated to your every driving pleasure.

These 1992 Jaguars hold a new era of Jaguar excellence, secured by our new four year warranty plus no-cost Club Jaguar benefits. Benefits include all scheduled maintenance, comprehensive 24-hour trip interruption service, and a host of other continuing benefits, for the first year or 90,000 km, whichever comes first. Please ask for details.

Discover this new era of Jaguar excellence. *Discover the future in the 1992 Sovereign sedan.* Call your Jaguar dealer to arrange your demonstration drive.



INTRODUCTION

Luxury cars and their buyers are changing. The machines themselves are as sleek and powerful as ever, but the cars and their buyers reflect the 1990s.

Manufacturers are producing body shapes that are subtly distinctive, while including the safety features sought by this decade's careful consumers. All-inclusive, preventive maintenance and roadside assistance programs are rapidly becoming the norm in the luxury car market.

"The 1990s' consumer is generally more cautious," says Susan Jacobs, Jacobs Automotive Inc., Little Falls, New Jersey, a consulting firm that specializes in forecasting and strategic planning for the automotive industry. "Lifestyle managers are being born."

But the car manufacturers' growing environmental awareness is truly indicative of consumer attitudes in this decade. Improved fuel consumption, more efficient, more powerful engines, greater recyclability and the use of more environmentally friendly materials is indicative of their commitment to customer and their environment.

"It reflects customers' attitudes toward the environment and it's a recognition of our corporate responsibility," says Gregory Young, senior vice president, Mazda Canada Inc., Scarborough, Ont.

At one point, only the true auto aficionados could tell one model from another without checking the nameplates, but a concerted effort is being made to develop more distinctive styling.

"There was too much uniformity," says Jacobs. "A lot of the new excitement has taken styling from successful models. It was rather like selling both the hand-sawing and the power-sawing."

While Jacobs thinks car manufacturers can risk the truly revolutionary, she predicts a more rapid evolution of style. Mazda's RX-7 sports

coupe was overhauled in 1985, but the 1992 model has been redesigned and re-engineered. Likewise, its \$29 has been restyled and re-engineered, and, to an extent, its lines are now reminiscent of Jaguar's sleek shape.

At GM, the Buick and Cadillac lines have never been better, according to John Cornelli, president and general manager, City Buick Pontiac Cadillac Ltd., Toronto. "Now, they're very distinctive on the road. You can see their heritage," he says, referring to the array of such classic elements as the polo-hoof in the Buick Roadmaster.

But styling aside, the environment is the issue in the 1990s and automakers are going all out to make the car environmentally friendly. Mercedes-Benz says its new S-Class sedan was designed for 100 per cent recyclability and other manufacturers

have recyclability of 90 per cent plus. In fact, at Toronto's National Home Show last month, cars, glass-lined steel bumpers and plastic steering wheels were all part of this year's dream: the "Green Home." The world's first full-scale family home built from recycled materials, the Green Home included auto parts, newspapers, sump lumber and other traditional construction site wastes.

To expedite plastic, the manufacturer needs to know which plastics "lend" such component cars from. Without identification, plastic parts must be discarded. As a result, Acura and Mercedes-Benz identify their plastic parts with special international codes.

On another level, manufacturers are working to eliminate the use of Freon, an ozone-depleting gas, as well as as-



A the Cadillac Series is environmentally friendly. Cadillac's styling advances and contributes to the Cadillac heritage.



But the Lotus, Honda's "environmentally friendly" car, incorporates style and shape, preserving the heritage of Lotus and Honda.

For 1992, Mazda's RX-7 has a new, more aggressive appearance, which shows the look of a two-door coupe.



WELL-ROUNDED LUXURY. What does your idea of the perfect driving environment encompass? Sweeping lines that soothe the senses? Supple leather surroundings, that are rich to the touch? An audio system that leaves you feeling like you've been set right in the middle of the concert hall? Does it include the exceptional handling and outstanding ride, that comes from incorporating rear wheel drive and a new multi-link suspension?

THE NEW MAZDA 929 SERENIA

Features:
Optional solar powered ventilation system.
Dual air bags standard.
3-year/50,000 km "bumper-to-bumper",
no-deductible warranty.
5-year/100,000 km major components warranty.
*Mazda Added Protection plans now
available. See Dealer for details.*

And, would it encircle you with appointments that make sense?

Like dual air bag protection, and a

solar-powered ventilation system that actually cools the interior, even when you're not there? If it does, then your idea of the perfect driving environment, is no longer an idea.

It's the new 1992 Mazda 929 Serenia.



mazda
IT JUST FEELS RIGHT

before in head-on and other areas.

More stringent replacement requirements are about 30 per cent less efficient at cooling, but beginning with the two- or 6-C class units, Mercedes-Benz is substituting a CPC free cooling unit, K144, for the waste-heat-rejecting unit, 882. Audi plans to have a CPC free, high efficiency cooling system by 1993, and Mazda hopes to eliminate Freon use by 1995. Notably, both Audi and Mercedes-Benz use non-CPC cooling agents to make foam parts.

Back in 1989, Audi began diverging the myth of car making as a dirty business with its water reclamation plant. Audi has pioneered some of the automotive industry's most far-reaching environmental initiatives, including fully galvanneal body shells, lead and cadmium-free paints. Audi even makes a point of using one recycled headboard in its cars' interiors.

Mazda is taking it one step further, using solar batteries in a vehicle's sunroof to power the ventilation system and charge the car's battery when parked.

Likewise, safety is being seen as much a corporate responsibility as it is the car owner's personal responsibility. While car size is among the most important safety considerations when shopping for a car, airbags and lap/shoulder safety belts and ABS (anti-lock braking systems) are also vital ingredients.

Driver's side airbags and ABS are virtually standard on luxury vehicles, while standard front passenger airbags are increasingly common.

The airbag acts as a pillow between car occupants and the vehicle interior, restraining heads and limbs against impact with the steering wheel, dashboard or windshield. But consumers need to remember that airbags are a supplemental restraint system and provide optimal protection only when used with a seat, properly fastened lap/shoulder belt.

Sensors measure crash severity and, if warranted, inflate the airbag faster than the blink of an eye, peak inflation occurs in about a twentieth of a second.

When you slam on the brakes in a car without ABS, the wheels may lock, resulting in a complete loss of steering control and longer stopping distances, particularly on wet, slippery roads. But with ABS, when car wheels begin to lock up, ABS takes over, automatically pumping the brakes many times a second to prevent locking and skidding.

In work to 20th anniversary, the Pontiac Bonneville has been completely redesigned for the new time.

The Buick Century has been completely redesigned.



ABS was first used on airplanes in the 1950s. A four-wheel anti-lock system was developed for the 1959 Ford Thunderbird, and the 1971 Chrysler Imperial had a four-wheel ABS but used, merely, only a handful of models had ABS as standard or optional equipment.

Steering and safety aside, a quiet comfortable ride, good handling and a measure of power are still the basic components of good power, although buyers now expect comprehensive, warranty, maintenance and roadside assistance programs as well.

"These programs have added a level of value considerations that wasn't there before," says Jacobs.

Manufacturers really are making the ultimate effort to provide hassle-free service and are promoting their comprehensive programs to consumers. Consumers take it as proof of the manufacturers' faith in the product and enjoy the additional sense of security.



Initially, these programs helped distinguish one manufacturer from another, but most manufacturers now offer relatively comparable programs.

Likewise, roadside assistance programs are becoming more common as manufacturers use their customers the best of: insuring their CAA or National Auto League membership. Indeed, Lotus and Cadillac owners are among those who simply dial their respective 1-800 numbers if they get stuck in snow, lose their keys, run out of gas or have car trouble.

The Buick Park Avenue, Buick's flagship sedan, was completely redesigned just last year.



A The Chevrolet 30, with V6 power and front-wheel drive, has been redesigned.



Cadillac's Eldorado has been completely redesigned to give it a sleeker body line and a sleeker look.

NORTH AMERICA

Revised, redesigned and re-engineered — it's been a busy year for those redesigning GM's luxury line for the 1993 season, which will also see the continuation of its biggest truck, the Roadmaster.

After decades, Buick's Roadmaster is again part of the Buick lineup with a rear wheel drive, four door sedan and station wagon. The Roadmaster eight-passenger station wagon and sedan are powered by a V6 engine, but are expensive and fuel efficient. All

Roadmasters have ABS and a driver's side airbag. Visible effort power steering is standard on the Limited Sedan.

Completely redesigned just last year, the Buick Park Avenue, Buick's flagship sedan, will feature a 325 hp, supercharged 3800 V6 engine for 1993. It goes from 0 to 100 km/h in 5.7 seconds, a significant improvement over the previous model's 10.6 seconds. The standard Park Avenue engine, the advanced 3800 V6 with tuned-port injection, delivers 179 hp. Because the supercharger is mechanically connected to the crankshaft, it operates at idle, so there's no throttle lag, or "turbo lag," because it takes the exhaust gases time to get the turbine up to speed.

Ventilator operation, now standard on both Park Avenue models, makes steering easier for parking and other low speed maneuvers, while providing more "road feel" at highway speeds. The system reduces the flow rate from the power steering pump as the speed of the car increases.

The Chevrolet Caprice's performance level is the best it's been in the car's 39 years. The new 5.7 L, 311 V6 is controlled by ABS (Acceleration Slip Regulation), a sophisticated electronic control system. It delivers 200 hp at 4,600 r.p.m., the highest net horsepower of any small block engine in Chevrolet history. It produces 35 hp more than the 1990 version it replaces. The V6's performance equals or exceeds virtually every V6 engine in the class for many, size, fuel consumption, emissions and cold start.

To mark its 35th anniversary, the Pontiac Bonneville has been completely redesigned for the ninth time. The flagship Pontiac Bonneville 3800 has a supercharged 3800 Series V6 engine that produces 285 hp at 4,600 r.p.m. and 340 ft. lb. of torque at 2,600 r.p.m.

The 3800 uses integrated ground effects, mono-color paint scheme, sculptured body accents and a sleek shape for a sleeker look. It "feels the road" design provides great road performance. The 3800 also features GM's first standard airbags for both the driver and front seat passenger.

The 3.5-L 3800 V6 with sequential port, fuel-injection at the stan-



Let the Games begin. The limited edition 4Runner Medallist.



4RUNNER

To mark our sponsorship of Canada's Olympic teams, Toyota has coined the Medallist, a Special Edition 4Runner, limited to only 400 for all of Canada.

The 4Runner Medallist offers special rewards for those who believe that winter is a season of recreation, not hibernation.

Luxury features come standard in the Medallist. The power and response of an advanced 3.0-liter, 150 hp V6, Toyota's on demand 4 wheel drive, Cruise Control.

Inside, there's leather upholstery, air conditioning, a CD player and 7-way driver's sport seat. And outside, the Medallist commands attention with its rear spoiler, fender flares, aluminum running boards, gold striping and one-of-a-kind Canadian Forest Green metallic paint.

But please bear this in mind: These special 4Runners are as rare as Olympic gold. Better see your Toyota Dealer today. Then let the games begin.

Toyota. The promise of something better.



MSRP starts at \$41,999 for the 2016 Legend Coupe with a 4-speed manual transmission. Pricing excludes licensing, freight, GST and Provincial Sales Tax, where applicable. Dealer may sell for less. 40% financing rates only. See dealer for details. *See website www.honda.com for Honda Canada Finance Inc.

One Of The Rewards Of Being At The Top Is Now Available On Your Way Up.

Second only to the satisfaction derived from achieving the pinnacle of your chosen field are the bonuses this achievement entitles you to reap. For many, this includes a fine automobile, the epitome of which has come to be represented by a Lexus.

And now, with the Lexus ES300 luxury sports sedan, the height of automotive achievement can be enjoyed by those who still have heights of their own to scale.

A 3.0 liter, 24-valve V6 delivers smooth, responsive power, managed by an innovative dual fuel direct injection incorporating unique liquid-filled supports. The resulting ride can be as lively as roadsters with crisp, sporty handling. Inside, the walnut-trimmed cabin is one of the quietest driving environments on the road,



Introducing The Lexus ES300 Luxury Sports Sedan.

After seven years of research, Lexus engineers developed a multitude of new sound-muting materials and structures. In the ES300, excessive noise has essentially been eliminated. Relish styling. Lively performance.

Lexus has elegance. Yet your safety has been unequivocally provided for. The Lexus ES300 is equipped with an advanced 4-wheel, 3 channel, Anti-lock Braking System. Even the driver's side airbag includes a telling Lexus brand activation

terminal, plated in gold to resist corrosion and ensure reliable operation.

A host of other refinements can be discovered simply by calling 1-800-26-LEXUS for the dealer nearest you. Then, an inspection and

test drive will convince you that the new ES300 is something of an achievement unto itself.


LEXUS
The Relentless Pursuit Of Perfection.



JAPAN

New subcompact and engines that deliver the ultimate performance grace the Japanese lines, but the creation of Mazda Canada's new luxury car division, Amati, is the big news. Consumers and industry analysts alike have been eagerly anticipating such an announcement from Mazda for several years. In fact August, it became official.

Built at a new Japanese plant dedicated to the production of luxury vehicles, Amati's first two sedans will debut in Canada in the spring of 1994. The Amati division will have about 20 dealers, with projected sales of 1,000 to 1,500 units the first year.

The name Amati was chosen because of its linguistic and historical implications. The name is derived from the Latin word *amare*, which means "to love." Amati is also the name of a family of 16th and 17th-century Italian craftsmen. They originated the design and form of the modern violin, viola and cello and taught the art of violin making to Stradivari. Today, premier Amati musical instruments are revered for their design and tone.

Meanwhile, those who are looking to buy cars in the near immediate future are taking a long look at warranty and roadside assistance programs.

Acura, Mazda, Infiniti and Lexus have warranty programs, but only Infiniti and Lexus provide roadside assistance. While the warranty programs are generally comparable, the consumer must look at them closely, particularly if they impact on the purchasing decision.

As proof of its commitment to worry-free driving, Mazda's new warranty program applies to all 1994 vehicles. The three-year, unlimited-kilometers, bumper-to-bumper warranty is standard. There are no fees, deductibles or warranty transfer

charges. The ten-year, 100,000-km powertrain component warranty is the longest for any non-luxury vehicle.

Nissan's three-year roadside assistance coverage is comprehensive and includes reimbursement for roadside emergency expenses.

There were 375 Infiniti models sold from October 1, 1990 through June 30, 1991, and Infiniti's 1,400 line handled just 36 calls for roadside assistance in that nine-month period. Of these calls, few were vehicle-related. Most owners simply required a second set of keys or a few litres of gas.

"We're trying to set a new standard for the industry," says Fred Rowper, general manager, Infiniti Division of Nissan Canada Inc., Markham, Ont. "Whether it's your fault, the car's fault or someone else's, we'll get you through it with the maximum amount of hassle."

Lexus approaches its roadside program a little differently. For a position, National Automobile League sales are its best operators and operators staff of the Lexus fundamentals and customer service philosophy.

Safety is also a major consideration at Nissan, where a demo-side mirage will be standard in all 1993 Maxima and Altia standard on the SE and SE-LE, but optional on the GXE. The Maxima SE gets a new 35-valve, 190-hp V6 engine almost identical to the one that powers Mazda's 300ZX sports car.

Toyota's Celica GT-S
features high-contrast
black sport coupe



A Lexus LS400's 200 hp, 4-L V6 engine is identical to that of the LS400, but its electronically controlled suspension and the car's 4-wheel drive is superior.

From Nissan, Legend's low-down engine and four-wheel drive have been come earlier, but they had an different on Bay Link.



The EX3, which is a new mid-range luxury 1900 Infiniti and an elegant four-door sports sedan, is reportedly due to the "milieu" can around dramatically different with its distinctive rounded lines, the EX3 has a high performance V6 engine and will compete with BMW, Mercedes and the top-end Acura Legend. To retail for less than \$40,000, it sits between the GXE and the QX5 and debuts at the Tokyo auto show this week.

Mazda's formerly busy 929 sedan is new for 1992 and its new silhouette is lower and more aggressive, giving it the look of a two-door coupe.



A The Acura Integra is mid-size sports car available with four-wheel steering or four-wheel automatic transmission.

For 1992, Infiniti's QX3 is in the \$20,000 to \$25,000 price range.



Nissan Maxima SE with three or drive's, able either and ABS on standard.

Some even say it's reminiscent of Jaguar's sleek shape. It boasts a drag coefficient of 0.33 and has a 3.1, V6 engine with front engine, rear-wheel drive and new, multi-link suspension. It has a maximum power of 195 hp at 5,700 r.p.m. and maximum torque of 200 lb-ft at 3,500 r.p.m.

Manual transmissions aren't available, as the new engine was designed specifically for automatic transmissions. Fuel efficiency is five per cent better than in the previous 3.0 model. Aachas are standard for both the driver and front passenger.

Completely redesigned and re-engineered in 1985, the RX7 is based new again for this year. It, too, debuts at the Tokyo auto show this week.

Designed in the United States for the North American market, the 1992 Lexus SC400's 200 hp, 4-L V8 engine is identical to that of the LS400.

SC400 is \$29,900 Acura Integra 1.8, 4-door sedan Infiniti QX3, 4-door sedan Nissan Maxima SE, 4-door sedan Nissan Maxima SE, 4-door sedan Toyota Celica GT-S, 4-door coupe
Legend is \$24,900 Acura Legend 1.8, 4-door sedan Acura Legend 1.8, 4-door sedan Lexus LS 400, 4-door sedan Mazda 929 SE, 4-door sedan Mazda 929 SE, 4-door sedan Toyota Celica GT-S, 4-door coupe Toyota Celica GT-S, 4-door coupe
Legend is \$24,900 Acura Legend 1.8, 4-door sedan Acura Legend 1.8, 4-door sedan Lexus LS 400, 4-door sedan Mazda 929 SE, 4-door sedan Mazda 929 SE, 4-door sedan Toyota Celica GT-S, 4-door coupe Toyota Celica GT-S, 4-door coupe
Legend is \$24,900 Acura Legend 1.8, 4-door sedan Acura Legend 1.8, 4-door sedan Lexus LS 400, 4-door sedan Mazda 929 SE, 4-door sedan Mazda 929 SE, 4-door sedan Toyota Celica GT-S, 4-door coupe Toyota Celica GT-S, 4-door coupe



The Lexus ES 300, a four-door sedan with a 3.0, V6 engine, replaces the Lexus ES 250 and will be in the same price range. A mid-size sports sedan, the Acura Integra is powered by a five-cylinder, 2.5-L, single overhead cam engine with four valves per cylinder, programmed fuel injection and an aluminum block and cylinder head. The engine produces 176 hp and 170 ft-lb torque. Five-speed manual or four-speed automatic transmissions are available. ABS and driver's side air bag are standard.

Although Acura's Legend two-door coupe and four-door sedan share the same technology beneath the skin—a 3.3-L, 24-valve, V6, 200 hp engine—they feel as different as they look. Slightly shorter in wheelbase and overall length, the coupe uses completely different exterior panels to achieve its more aggressive look. The coupe also feels different as you settle in behind the wheel. A larger front stabilizer bar and slightly firmer front damping settings incorporated into the tuning of the coupe's suspension give it a more sporty feel.

but no drivability has been improved and the torque output sure is spicier. For better performance, first gear in the SC400's electronically controlled, five-speed automatic over drive transmission was lowered from 2.55:1 to the LS400's 2.80:1 and the final drive ratio was lowered from 3.61:1 to 3.91:1. The result is a 0 to 100 km/h acceleration time of 6.9 seconds and a top speed of 240 km/h. A driver's side air bag is standard.

"THE '92 SEVILLE PROMISES TO BE AMONG THE MOST IMPORTANT LUXURY CARS OF THE 90's."

David Charles Ross, Motor Trend

The new Cadillac Seville has taken refinement out of the dictionary and put it on the road. A "muscular sophistication," as it were. But don't take our word for it. Listen to what the experts are saying about us in '92.

"It gives us great pleasure to report that the '92 Seville is every bit as good as it looks."

"No more calls folks... we have a winner."

David L. Davis, Jr., Automobile Magazine

"Cadillac has a winning setup in the Computer Command Ride system... the ride quality is superlative across its operating range."

David Charles Ross, Motor Trend



"Quietly but firmly the Seville says refinement."

Carroll Omer

"It's motion that brings out the best in this car."

"This is the best American Sedan we've ever driven, one that stacks up with the world's best."

Bob Titus, Popular Mechanics

"The 1992 Seville STS is the strongest Cadillac Sedan ever."

"Quiet and sure-footed... German-like in stability."

Ken Tarr, Road & Track

"The styling is nothing short of stunning."

"The proof of excellence is in suspension, steering, brakes and engine."

Bill Vance, Investor's Guide

"A potent ride and handling package that is equal to anything available from Europe or Japan."

Alan E. McPhee, Carpage



CADILLAC STYLE





ADVERTISING
SUPPLEMENT

20

ITALY

Maserati and Ferrari salute their heritage with Maserati's Shamal, the latest in a series named for the wind, while the F40 celebrates Enzo Ferrari's 43 years as a car manufacturer.

Ferrari's 1991 "anniversary car," while not for sale in Canada, was available in the U.S. in 1991. The F40 emphasizes style and shape, preserving the heritage of Ferrari and Pininfarina.

Once the exclusive domain of air craft, experimental and competitive machines, composite materials are used in the F40, reducing the car's weight by 30 per cent and increasing torsional strength threefold.

The F40's sporty exterior and simple interior pay homage to aerodynamic vehicles with their emphasis on functionality. One of Ferrari's most versatile and powerful engines, the V6 at 4100 cc comes from the two F100 race hatchbacks, with boost of 3.1 bar. It has a drag coefficient of about 0.34 with low lift figures, front and rear. It has a maximum speed of 320 km/h and goes from 0 to 100 km/h in four seconds.

The engine has some unique features: the inlet manifold has the right butterfly valves operating together; the camshafts are new with a polynomial type profile; the exhaust valves have hollow stems and heads; the connecting rods and bushings are made of aluminum alloy; the pistons are designed with "squash" effect and are directly oil cooled; the crankshaft has cross-hatch cutting ducts; the cylinders are lined with a Nikasil® coating; the 100 cc hatchbacks are water-cooled; and the latest Weber/Marelli computerized engine management system has been borrowed directly from Formula One race cars.

New next year, Maserati's two-door sports coupe, the Shamal, has a V12, 32 valves, 3.5 L engine that features two water-cooled turbochargers

and produces 315 hp. A rear-wheel drive, it has a Getrag six-speed manual transmission. The Shamal, a hot, strong, snarling wind is what is now Iraq and Syria, reestablishes Maserati's long-standing tradition of naming its models after winds.

Next year, Lamborghini introduces the Diablo VT, a four-wheel drive vehicle with various tractions.

Alfa Romeo's 164 sports sedan has been redesigned from the ground up. Available with a 3-L, six-cylinder engine, this car can be equipped with an automatic transmission, but the five-speed manual will be most in demand. The 1991 model year car will be available late next year.

CADILLAC in CANADA Alfa Romeo 164, 4-door sedan Alfa Romeo Spider V6 convertible
CADILLAC in EUROPE Maserati Shamal 100, 4-door sedan Maserati Shamal Spider, 4-door convertible
CADILLAC in ITALY Maserati 320 S, 2-door coupe
FIAT in CANADA Ferrari 348 GTB, 2-door coupe Ferrari 348 GTB, 2-door convertible Maserati Shamal, 4-door coupe
LAMBORGHINI Lamborghini LM001, 4-door utility Lamborghini Diablo, 2-door coupe Lamborghini Diablo VT, 4-door coupe Ferrari Testarossa, 2-door coupe

Maserati's Shamal
joins the L, a two-door
convertible,
in the CADILLAC
in 1991 coupe



A two-door
Maserati
320 S, two-door
convertible is in the
CADILLAC

The Alfa Romeo
164 has a large,
new-powered 4.2 L
V6 engine.



GERMANY

Porsche can boast its new 966 sports coupe and Audi's V8 quattro is more powerful than ever, but Mercedes-Benz has the 5-Class, a series of brand new cars that could be labeled "green."

Mercedes-Benz's new top-of-the-line, luxury 5-Class series cars are setting the most environmentally compatible cars in commercial production. They are free of CFCs (chloro-

fluorocarbons), use overseas catalytic converters and are built for 90 per cent recyclability.

CFCs are being phased out world wide and by the year 2000, the refrigerant won't be available anywhere, rendering CFC based air conditioning obsolete. Beginning with the five-car 5-Class series, Mercedes-Benz is substituting a CFC free refrigerant, R134a, for the ozone depleting agent, R12.

The 5-Class has larger catalytic converters than the engine sizes would normally dictate. The 4-L, V12 engine uses a 7 L converter, the largest of any passenger car. Overseas converters are used because they are proven long term stability and lower

the conversion rate. The series' advanced engine management system rapidly heats the catalytic converter when the engine is cold to reduce emissions during the warm up phase. The six-and-eight cylinder engines all have oxygen converters.

The proportion of plastic components in the new 5-Class (light per cent) is lower than the average (30 to 35 per cent) for other vehicle class. Any plastic component weighing more than 100 grams is specially marked with its chemical name to facilitate recycling.

The company has also developed a "new" steel made from scrapped cars in a recycling process that is environmentally compatible. Waste water is used to make them rather than CFCs. Water-based paints are now being used for six 5-Class paint colors because they contain less than 15 per cent solvent instead of the 70 per cent found in conventional paints.

The five free door, five passenger sedans are the 300 SD (3.5-L, six cylinder, turbo diesel engine), 300 SE (3.5-L, six cylinder engine), 400 SE (4.5-L, V8 engine), 500 SEL (5-L, V8 engine), 600 SEL (6-L, V12 engine). SEL indicates a long wheel-base model. All engines are new to 5-Class cars and extensive maintenance are standard on all models.

The 5-Class series has standard, eight-spoke, light alloy wheels, leather seats, automatic climate control and a three Beta Sound System (11 speakers, 340 watts, no name just a few of the standard features).

The heart of Porsche's new 968, the 3-L, four-valve, four-cylinder engine produces 240 hp at 6,200 rpm with a maximum torque of 225 lb-ft at 4,100 rpm. It has a top speed of 255 km/h. This gives it the highest torque figure of any normally aspirated, 3-L engine in production or today. It has a drag coefficient of 0.34 and an endurance index of 0.64. The Coupe and Cabriolet are identical in design and package.

The Porsche 968's Red
Frontier Turbo
reduction into the other
defensive 10 or 15 per
cent point.



V BMW's new 1100 GTD
is a pioneer in terms of
its high level of exterior
control, fuel economy
and maneuverability.



The BMW 1100 GTD
new coupe is in the
CADILLAC in
CADILLAC coupe.



ADVERTISING
SUPPLEMENT

21

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And now, the Maxima

Shall we start under the hood? The Maxima SE

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With 24 valves, dual overhead cams and variable valve timing, it pumps out 190 horsepower.

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HUMAN RACE



ADVERTISING
SUPPLEMENT

24

\$17,000 to \$26,000

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BMW 218i, 2-door coupe
BMW 218i 4-door sedan

\$24,000 to \$24,900

Audi 90, 4-door sedan
Audi 90 Quattro 4-door sedan
Audi Coupe Quattro, 2-door coupe
BMW 325i, 2-door sedan
BMW 325i 4-door sedan
BMW 218i Cabriolet, 2-door sedan
Mercedes-Benz 190 2.3 4-door sedan

\$24,000 to \$24,900

Audi 200 4-door sedan
Audi 200 Avant, 4-door wagon
Audi 200 Quattro, 4-door sedan
Audi 200 Turbo, 4-door sedan
Audi 200 Turbo Quattro, 4-door sedan
BMW 225i Cabriolet, 2-door convertible
BMW 505xi, 4-door sedan
BMW 528i, 4-door sedan
Mercedes-Benz 190E 2.3 4-door sedan

\$24,000 to \$24,900

BMW 525i, 4-door sedan
Mercedes-Benz 300D 2.5 Turbo, 4-door sedan
Mercedes-Benz 300E 5.0 4-door sedan
Porsche 944 2-door coupe

\$24,000 to \$24,900

Audi V8 Quattro 4-door sedan
BMW 750iA, 4-door sedan
Mercedes-Benz 300E 4-door sedan
Porsche 944 S2, 2-door coupe
Porsche 944 Cabriolet, 2-door coupe

\$24,000 to \$24,900

BMW 750i, 4-door sedan
BMW 750iA, 4-door sedan
Mercedes-Benz 300SE 4-door wagon
Mercedes-Benz 300CE 2-door coupe
Mercedes-Benz 300E 4-door sedan
Porsche 944 Turbo 2-door coupe

\$24,000 to \$24,900

BMW 750i, 4-door sedan
Mercedes-Benz 300SE 4-door sedan
Mercedes-Benz 300SE 4-door sedan
Porsche Carrera 3, 2-door coupe
Porsche 911 Carrera 4, 2-door coupe
Porsche 928 S4 2-door coupe
Porsche 928 GT, 2-door coupe

\$24,000 to \$24,900

BMW 750i, 4-door sedan
Mercedes-Benz 300SE 2-door convertible
Mercedes-Benz 300SE 2-door convertible
Mercedes-Benz 300E 4-door sedan
Mercedes-Benz 300SE 4-door sedan
Mercedes-Benz 300SE 4-door sedan
Porsche 911 Turbo 2-door coupe

\$24,000 to \$24,900

Mercedes-Benz 300SE 4-door sedan

Two constant-torque, helix shafts compensate for inertia forces and seal out order vibrations to make this engine as smooth as ice and eight-cylinder engines. It even has high marks in terms of fuel efficiency and emission control, when compared to smaller-displacement engines.

Vibrations, a patented Porsche active cancelshift tuning development, invisibly affects output, torque and emissions performance. The exhaust system produces low external noise, although the driver hears a more "sporting" sound in the middle and upper revolution ranges.

The 964 reaches top speed in sixth gear. Five gears are available for accelerating, each of which can be taken to better than 6,000 r.p.m. in (maximum revs 6,700 r.p.m.), while providing optimum acceleration reserves under partial-load conditions.

Sixth gear is a particularly economical driving range, at middle or even low speeds, but is the target point for top track speed. The gearbox uses central cone synchronization to facilitate shifting. The dual mass flywheel helps reduce noise and the relatively small overall mass of the clutch disk reduces shift loads.

The Porsche 964's Dual Function Tiptronic transmission lets you choose between automatic or manual

The Audi V8 Quattro now has the quattro all-wheel drive system and a larger, more powerful 4.2 L V8 engine. The 275 hp, 10 valve power plant, with four overhead cams and tuned intake runners, generates 265 ft. lb. of torque at 4000 r.p.m. Top track speed is well over 200 km/h, and it goes from 0 to 100 km/h in just seven seconds with a four-speed automatic transmission.

The four-speed automatic 275 transmission with lock up torque converter and electronic shifting control has three driving modes. In the "E" and "S" modes, full engine power is immediately available when the accelerator is fully depressed through the "kick down" function. A linear prescanner setting is now standard in the Audi V8 quattro.

Responding to popular demand, a four-speed automatic transmission is now standard, as is Connolly leather, in 1993.

Additional new Audi models are to be introduced next March, most likely as 1993 model year vehicles.

BMW's new 1993 320i is a pioneer in terms of its high level of emission control, fuel economy and acceptability. It has a drag coefficient of just .32 and has a 24-valve version of BMW's 2.5-L, six-cylinder engine, which produces 189 hp. It has a three-way catalytic converter controlled by an oxygen sensor. It

The Mercedes-Benz 300CE 4-door coupe is the \$24,000 to \$24,900 car.



driving. Based on the four speed, six-cylinder 2.5 4HP 187L transmission, its manual shift program gives a driver the chance to downshift his or her own shift points. Both operating modes have been proven through use in the Porsche 911 Carrera 2.

reaches 100 km/h in just 7.9 seconds. In terms of dynamic rigidity, it is about 30 per cent stiffer in dealing with flexural forces and about 40 per cent stiffer in the case of torsional stress. A driver's side air bag is optional.



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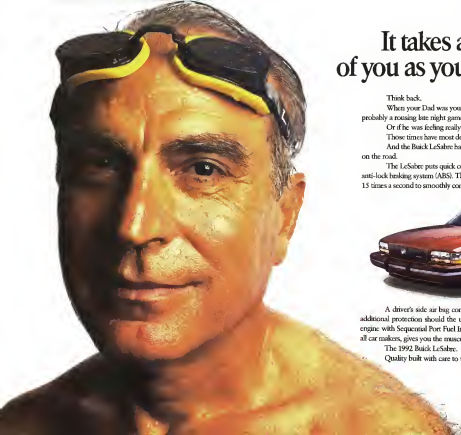
There is much more we could tell you, but the Q45 is a driver's car. Its virtues are best appreciated when you are in the car and the car is moving. We invite you to visit an Infiniti showroom soon for a guest drive. For the perfect drive.

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SWEDEN

Volvo's 940 sedan and station wagon return to the luxury/premium competitive segment this year, while its S10 (side-impact protection system) platform is a new frontier in automotive safety. The most significant aspect of the 940 series is the all new A1600 transmission, a six cylinder, 8-L, four valve per cylinder, all-aluminum alloy in-line engine, rated at 200 hp, with 197 Lb. of torque.

In primary hallmarks on flexibility and responsiveness, with efficiency as a major design criterion. Despite their powerful performance, the 940s aren't "gas guzzlers." Mated to an electronically controlled automatic transmission, it offers three modes — economy, sport and wet/winter — as selected by the driver. The transmission's "down slope" function shifts the transmission to a lower gear to help maintain the vehicle's speed on long descents.

New for the 1992 model year, the

940 GLE sedan is now the most affordable 940 series model and is powered by the familiar B2300 four-cylinder engine. Well equipped, its standard features include ABS, a power window and an 8-speaker audio.

The 240 GLE model distinguishes itself after a two-year absence, while the 740 series now features, as standard, four-wheel power assisted disc brakes (side-impact system on all models with and without ABS) and locking differential on all models.

The S10 system is incorporated into all 740 and 900 series models for the 1992 model year. Designed to help reduce the number and severity of injuries resulting from lateral/collateral collisions, it automatically reinforces key components. As a result, side impact forces are deflected through the safety cage's structure, helping retain its integrity.

Specifically, the B-pillars, floor structure, door sills, door sashers and roof cross members (also structural models) were either reinforced or redesigned.

Introduced as an accessory during the 1991 model year, the child-restraint-in-car seat, an award-winning Volvo innovation, will be standard on all 900 series sedan models for 1992.

\$20,000 to \$24,000

Volvo 900 Turbo, 2-door hatchback
Volvo 900GPG, 3-door hatchback
Volvo 9000, 4-door hatchback
Volvo 940GLE, 2-door hatchback
Volvo 940 Turbo, 4-door sedan
Volvo 940, 4-door sedan
Volvo 740, 4-door sedan
Volvo 740 Turbo, 4-door sedan
Volvo 740, 4-door sedan
Volvo 740, 4-door sedan
Volvo 740, 4-door sedan

\$24,000 to \$28,000

Volvo 9000GPG Turbo, 4-door hatchback

For the 1992 model year, all Canadian Volvo models will have a driver's side airbag as standard.

At Volvo, maintenance and service requirements have been further reduced through enhanced factory preparation of the cars. As a result, service after 1,000 and 2,000 kilometers has been deleted for the 1992 model year. In addition, the oil-change service interval for all non-turbo engine models has been extended to 15,000 km.

Changes to Volvo's 900 and 9000 lines are relatively minor, but in September of this year, GM redesigned its dealer network, and what had been Passport International Automobiles, its import division, is now Volvo/Scania/Isuzu. Essentially a name change for the 75 dealerships involved, Scania/Scania/Isuzu is affectionately known as SSI around GM.

On all Volvo 9000 models, increased torsional rigidity reduces noise levels and improves handling. Further proof of Volvo's commitment to safety, new body reinforcements increase resistance to side impacts.

The New Traction Control System (TCS) is now standard on all 9000/TCS models, and a re-manufactured rear axle reduces passenger noise. TCS maintains wheel spin at each wheel through the ABS circuit. It controls slip through a combination of electronic throttle and brake applications on manual cars and the electronic throttle control on automatics. TCS significantly improves performance and safety during inclement or poor weather.



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A Volvo's 940 is a powerful performer, and is remarkably fuel efficient.

The war of the sexes

New calls for rules on sexual harassment

The 44-year-old Mack women, who took her complaint to Ontario Workers' Compensation Board and that she was sexually harassed during a six-year period in the 1980s by male co-workers at the Colgate-Palmolive Canada soap factory in the Toronto area. The women,

Thomas's appointment to the court by a vote of 52 to 44.

For its part, the Supreme Court of Canada, in deciding a case on sexual harassment, said that the conduct of a sexual nature that detrimentally affects the work environment of female is adverse job-related

consequences for the victims of the harassment." According to statistics carried out in the United States and Canada, sexual harassment in the workplace affects an estimated 80 to 90 per cent of women at some point in their lives. (Only a small number of men ever complain of sexual harassment.) In 1996, federal and provincial human rights commissions received hundreds of complaints of sexual harassment in the workplace. And Michael E. Tisdale, chief commissioner of the federal human rights commission, "It is a problem that is very much present and very much felt by women across the country." He added: "Whatever the numbers are, it's a shocking experience for the individual."

Telling tales, putting an act across as a co-worker or taking a colleague for a date is not, according to experts in the field, acceptable behavior with right conduct. But they concede that what does constitute sexual harassment in the workplace is difficult for some people to grasp. Experts say that the offending behavior typically takes one of two forms. The first occurs when there is an implied or explicit link between unwanted sexual favors and a promotion or job security. The second form of harassment occurs when a person—generally a superior—subjects his employees to sexual situations that create a hostile, uncomfortable or hostile working environment. "It is much more subtle than most people think," said Lawrence and co-moderator Judith Osborne, harassment policy co-ordinator at Simon Fraser University in Burnaby, B.C.

"It can always be the latest touching, feeling or kissing sexual comments. It's often wrapped up in a joke—often not a very funny joke," Osborne added. "In many workplaces, these kinds of off-color or condescending—the sort of discrediting of people's sex lives—is seen as being the 'regular' Monday-morning conversation."

Many experts say that the sexual harassment has become more of an issue in recent years as the growing number of women in the workforce. The resulting change in roles for workplace behavior, they said, has caused many men to "blatantly say, 'Anyone could accuse me of sexual harassment and I didn't mean to do it,'" said Nancy Anderson, co-moderator for the status of women and a sexual-harassment ad-

vocate at Caledonia University in Ottawa. "I say, 'Think about whether you would be an inmate to do this to your mother, your daughter, your wife. And if you feel uneasy at all about the behavior, stop it.'" Anderson and others concede that it is difficult to make people fully understand the seriousness of sexual harassment. Added Anderson: "There's no severe situation. You can't say to me, 'Imagine if a woman were doing this to you.' It's not the same thing."

Still, some critics believe that making definitions of sexual harassment are too vague and can have the effect of trapping innocent people. "When it's a look a hell" and Howard Lewis, a Toronto lawyer who specializes in workplace-law suits. "What is an employer to do when a come-on?" Lewis also claims that the potential costs for people to frivolously accuse someone of sexual harassment. Exploited Lewis: "The very fact of the allegation is an indictment to their career that the person who is being accused is likely to pay a tremendous amount of money to keep the server quiet."

The effects of genuine sexual harassment as a victim can be devastating, according to experts. "It has a real, serious, debilitating level of effect on one's self-esteem," said Debra Forreth-Smith, president of the Halifax-based Nova Scotia Advisory Council on the Status of Women. "People say, 'Why is this happening to me?' And sexual harassment generally happens in public, behind a closed door when nobody else is around." As well, victims are often harassed by superiors. Said Anderson: "When you are in a position of power and you start touching or

making sexual jokes or innuendoes, these under your nose to think about your position before they challenge you before."

Following through with a formal complaint in Canada can be a daunting and lengthy process for sexual-harassment victims. Ac-



Anderson: the complaint process can be daunting

counting to victims, the victim will usually file a complaint with the federal provincial human rights commission against both the alleged harasser and the employer. Under Canadian law, employers have a responsibility for a harassment-free workplace. If officials believe that there are grounds for the complai-

ant's case, they will begin gathering evidence. Through the process, victims can sue. But the commission will make every attempt to arrive at an informal settlement between the parties. If once can be reached, the commission will file a statement, a condition to try to find a settlement. Failing that, a trial can be scheduled to hear testimony in public. Finally, the board issues a conclusion and issues an order, which could involve the awarding of financial damages, the reinstatement of a job at the granting of a promotion that was previously denied as a result of the complainant's refusal to comply with the harasser's demands. The employer and the individual charged with harassment could then appeal the commission's decision before the courts. In some cases, the process can take years before all the appeals have been heard and a final ruling has been rendered.

Some experts maintain that victims of sexual harassment in the workplace are not served well under the current system. Because sexual harassment is not a criminal offence, a complainant has no recourse but to go to a human rights commission. In most provinces, commissions have large backlog of cases. In Quebec, according to Lewis, is that the commission must "give someone good awards for nothing other than proof of economic loss." Financial damages typically range from \$250 to \$1,000. Indeed, the consequences of filing a complaint may outweigh the benefits. Complainers, said Lewis, "have to go to the human rights commission, make a complaint, prove they're harassed, wait a number of years and, even if they win, it might be difficult to get a job somewhere else because they're seen as a bad character." He said, "It's actually, experts agree, a very complex system of justice that is really only working one thing: that the offense behavior is stop."

SARA UNDERWOOD

CHOOSING JUDGES IN PRIVATE

In Canada, according to the American Commission

Canadian Supreme Court judges are named by the governor general on the advice of the prime minister. The only fixed requirement is that at least three of the judges must be members of the Quebec bar, and that any appointed judge have been a member of a Canadian bar for at least 10 years. As well, all federal judges have been named since 1947 by the Canadian Bar Association and, until 1983, by a five-member advisory committee made up of federal and provincial legal authorities that primarily advises candidates.

In practice, the power to shape the composition of the Supreme Court has rested with the prime minister, who in a number of legal disputes has followed the advisory judge's recommendations. Since Pierre Trudeau's first government took office in 1968, he has appointed eight of the nine current justices, and some Canadians have complained that the present appointment process could allow a prime minister to stack the court with political friends. As a result,

some critics of the system have urged the introduction of a public review process for prospective justices. Said Frederick Vaughan, a political science professor at the University of Guelph, "With the introduction of the charter of rights in 1982, these people exercise extraordinary power. They should undergo some measure of public scrutiny by our legislatures."

But other experts contend that such a process would merely add another element of the U.S. judicial system into a Canadian's parliamentary form of government. And even those calling for changes to the system, including Vaughan, acknowledge that all Supreme Court justices since the 1960s have been well qualified. "The present commission does a very good job of recruiting first and selecting out bad lawyers," said Vaughan. But, in the influence of the Supreme Court, growth in the number of new justices may increase.

BREND WALLACE in Ottawa



Kilmer's "shattering experience" that is "very much felt by women"



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EDUCATION

Shocks and plaudits

Universities react to Maclean's rankings

Cornell Black, the multimillionaire publisher who now divides his time between Toronto and London, was a member of the pioneering class of 1960 at Ottawa's Carleton University. Other successful Carleton graduates have included Kenneth Leung, a senior vice-president with the Toronto-based developer of Olympic & York Developments Ltd., and Traci McCann, the city's vice-president of news and current affairs. But despite the school's list of distinguished alumni, Carleton placed 44th in a

by Montreal's mainly Anglophone Concordia, that the survey did not rate professional schools, was under its urban categories and ignored the special characteristics of Quebec's education system. In English Canada, there was criticism that the ranking system did not account all of the factors that can contribute to the quality of education at a university. Said David O'Brien, president of the Quebec University Association, which placed McGill University at the top of the list: "Maclean's has done a courageous thing. They have tried to measure quality. Unfortunately,



Perplexed at Carleton: the rankings ignored professional and postgraduate programs

controversial ranking of undergraduate arts and science programs at 46 Canadian universities published last week by Maclean's is its Oct. 21 release. On the Carleton campus—and several others across Canada—students and faculty alike expressed dismay at their university's low ranking. Said Carleton professor Robert Rabinovich: "There was shock and disbelief around the campus. It was in close to look at the record as I have ever had."

At universities that received higher rankings such as the Marist's survey, students and faculty understandably reacted positively to the survey. In several francophone universities, proud

they have probably accepted the impossible."

The Maclean's survey assessed academic quality by examining a range of factors that included the grade average of students entering first year, student-teacher ratios, the percentage of tenured faculty members teaching first-year classes, financial resources and reputation. With guidance from Deane Rabinovich, and using statistics from the 1989-1991 school year, most of which came from the universities themselves, Maclean's assigned standard scores a 12 categories and based a university's overall ranking on a weighting of the scores, putting more emphasis on the quality of students and faculty members. Montreal's McGill

University ranked first, followed by Queen's University in Kingston, Ont.; Mount Allison in Sackville, N.S.; the University of Toronto and Hamilton's McMaster University. While the University of Montreal ranked 15th and Quebec City's Laval 18th, Concordia was 20th and the University of Quebec, with 11 branches across the province, was 45th the rising star on its downtown Montreal campus, UQAM.

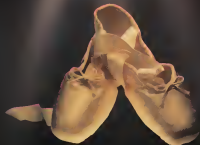
The survey results showed that universities with good rankings are well distributed geographically. Of the top 30, four are located in Western Canada, six in Ontario, five in Quebec and six in Atlantic Canada. But at Quebec, the Marist's survey attracted some stern criticism. In a recent publication in Oct. 21 by the respected Montreal newspaper *Le Devoir*, editor Luc Bouchard argued that the survey was highly prejudiced against the newer, urban universities, like UQAM, established in the past 20 years to make higher education available to a wider segment of the Canadian population. She noted that 18 of the top 30 universities were established before 1900. UQAM also issued a detailed statement accusing Maclean's of ignoring many of its accomplishments, such as the establishment of Canada's first doctoral program in environmental sciences. St. Thomas's O'Brien argued that his school's 46th-place ranking in terms of operating budget per student must necessarily be a mark against the university. O'Brien said that his institution has kept its spending within its restricted budget rather than seeking deficits.

For his part, Carleton's Rabinovich expressed concern that the Marist's rankings would leave a lasting and unfavorable impression about his institution. Said Rabinovich: "The primary criterion of a university is its reputation. We are asking how Carleton, with an international reputation for its programs in journalism, architecture and international affairs, can be ranked 44th in the country?"

Still others criticized top-ranked McGill. Colin Doherty, a vice-president of Halifax-based St. Mary's University, which ranked 40th, said that McGill kept its spending per student artificially high by accumulating large deficits. Said Doherty: "You don't reward those schools that are financially irresponsible and build up huge debts." Meanwhile, officials and students at top-ranked schools cheered the results. O'Brien said that the survey also merited attention to the financial plight of Canada's universities by refining operating budgets and student-teacher ratios. Said Kelly Lamont, president of the Ottawa-based Canadian Federation of Students: "I am surprised we aren't getting the funding they need, but students aren't getting the education they deserve." Indeed, that may be the most pressing issue facing Canada's schools of higher learning, regardless of how they compare with one another.

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Bejoen (standing) as Murphy Brown: 'the ultimate challenge' for a TV character

TELEVISION

And baby makes two

Single career women face TV motherhood

As level were the birth of television, the birth of TV children has been cast as an evolutionary plot. The tradition begins in 1963, when Lucy and Ricky Ricardo (Lucille Ball and Desi Arnaz) incorporated the real-life arrival of Ricky Jr. into *I Love Lucy*—and ratings soared. Since then, such TV moms as Laura (Mary Tyler Moore) on *The Dick Van Dyke Show*, Sylvia (Anne Perry) on *Glenn and Ethan* (Michael Landon), and *Frasier* (Kelsey Grammer) have followed suit. And just last year, OWN's popular *Designing Women* had its latest episode of the season when Christine (Joan Smith) gave birth. Now, the sitcom baby boom is being given a decidedly feminist twist: pregnancy without marriage. With the new fall season only a month old, line of prime-time television's most high-profile unmarried characters have already found the postnatal—and in some cases, the coital—what they are pregnant.

Debra English, co-executive producer of *Murphy Brown*, said that executives at CBS had a simple reason for making the independent, overbearing Brown a prospective single mother: *Self* (English) "We wanted to give the ultimate challenge." Brown, played by actress Cloris Bach (who is not pregnant),

has decided to keep the child that she realized she was carrying in last season's final episode. Others, meanwhile, have been facing the prospect of single motherhood with fingers tingling from maternal longing to assist designs. *Lawrence Sanders* Mary Jo (Anne Parillo) of *Designing Women*, a divorced and established mother of two teenagers, turned to a sperm bank—only to succumb soon after conception. On *60 Minutes*, co-anchor and her manager Rebecca (Katie Couric) has been trying to conceive—with the help of surrogate boyfriend Sam (Ted Danson), who says that his last child-bearing days are slipping away. And journalist Hannah (Anne Lee Curran) on *60 Minutes* has been looking into wedding plans with boyfriend Marty (Richard Lewis) who's a pregnant but gave a surprise positive reading—only to discover it had been a false alarm.

As unmarried thirty- and forty-something characters find with adding motherhood to their financial media withers and women's advocates are debating the reasons why (see dream reference, see note) it that many professionals are deciding to put their professional lives on hold in order to bear their biological child. Although 45-year-old CBS news anchor Katie Couric is married, her decision last year to leave her job to co-anchor—so far, accom-

modately—no concerning her first child, she said. *Murphy Brown's* success, according to English, in Canada, earlier CTV for the CBC is planning to introduce similar plot developments this season, but CBC dramatic head Nicola Harcourt said that single motherhood is a logical storyline for writers grappling with real social trends.

Others point to a more general importance on the part of TV audiences with one-dimensional, hard-boiled female role models. Dana Lieberman, vice-president of Toronto Women in Film and Television, an organization that promotes women in the industry said that she sees the new trend in small-screen single motherhood as part of a potential social backlash against two decades of women's liberation. Characters like *Murphy Brown*, said Lieberman, "represent the maturing of an entire generation of women who for two decades chafed, 'Me, me, me'—and of women who are tired of it all." But others suggested just the opposite, contending that the phenomenon represents another step forward for the women's movement. Bob Christian, a spokesman for Toronto-based Media Watch, which monitors stages of women in various media, "TV executives are finally creating women who feel free to sex. 'We're not going to help just because we're single and pregnant.'"

However, one issue that prime-time shows are still playing it safe is abortion. Although one of the first adult, female characters in a recent episode of the NBC one-hour drama *Men* made it as far as an abortion, the woman from before deciding to opt out of the procedure, industry watchers question whether any half-hour sitcom will ever be ready for such a sensitive topic. "Even with occasionally excellent writing," said CTV's Harcourt, "it is very tough to deal with such difficult issues in a short-form form."

Bill, Neven Gotsman, who teaches women's studies at Memorial University in St. John's, Nfld., pointed out that such controversial subjects as single motherhood and late-term abortion were common fare in dramatic soap operas long before they made it into the plot lines of nighttime comedies. Noting that abortion has already become a staple of such afternoon serials, Gotsman added that the subject may be "on the distant horizon" of prime time.

For now, *Murphy Brown* takes the prospect of leaving to child clippers—and network executives are, as usual, keeping an eye on the bottom line. Last month's cliff-hanger opening episode of *Murphy Brown* drew an impressive 35 per cent of the available U.S. audience—up 13 percentage points from its usual healthy message. Such numbers are clearly not lost on network bosses. Brown's life is scheduled to arrive during the show's season finale next May—just in time for the spring ratings sweep.

BOOKS

Ladies of the Hill

Profiles reveal the roles of prime ministers' wives

MORE THAN A ROSE
PRIME MINISTERS' WIVES
AND OTHER WOMEN

By Heather Robertson
(Bantam, 404 pages, \$29.95)

According to proverbial wisdom, behind every successful man there stands a woman. But that is not evident in Canada's political biographies. From Donald Croft's 1986 *Claremont* to John A. Macdonald, the *Political Profiles* to John A. Macdonald's recent *Macdonald: The Politics of Ambition*, Canada's political biographies have concentrated on men. Now, in 16 snappy sketches, Heather Robertson diverts attention away from the spotlight of the past 125 years to the women sitting off to one side or waiting in the wings. Their influence was at times profound, and amazingly varied. More than a Rose-which takes its title from Margaret Trudeau's 2001 declaration, "I'm more than just a rose in my husband's life"—resents a range of roles, from all-encompassing partner to stalwart parent, passive doorman, lady-in-wait, support soldier and even machinist's cat.

Like first-take photography, Robertson's book chronicles feminist social history as evidenced by Canada's first ladies. Through the subtle selection of tell-tale detail she traces women's changing roles. Robertson progresses from Agnes Macdonald's clear understanding that her powers were exclusively moral, through the behind-the-scenes consultation of Sir Wilfrid Laurier's clear threat, advice, and, possibly, love. Elsie Llewellyn, and the embrace of John Diefenderfer's engaging mother, Mary, is the feminist independence of Maureen McPhee. An option for women married generally, climaxing contrasting those intimate with men as power became more complex. And as the men developed more sophisticated means of expressing those in high places, the choices became more risky.

Robertson's book clearly demonstrates that the women attached to prime ministers strongly shaped—the better and worse—the leaders' popular image and style of government. The inkwell, moreover, manuscript, Diefenderfer might have been for him successful in his earliest campaigns without his second first wife, Elsie, and her unassuming knack for managing. And the public impression that No was more dynamic than Joe, which resulted in



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BOOKS

just from her use of her maiden name and her pursuit of a separate career, could have undermined Clark's support. Porters may have mattered as much as party platforms. Webster even invited on the December press tour that Daskalopoulos's second wife, Olive, preferred, or the raucous home-ops over which Marilyn Pearson presided made a difference—not just to the media, but to the electorate. The legendary "Battle of the Dispensary" at 24 Sussex Drive between Margaret Trudeau and Margaret McTavish may not have been as momentous as it seemed at the time.

An Robertson concedes. More than a few women. Only two of the four living prime ministers' wives—Gail's Turner and McTavish—were interviewed. And since marital concerns were "only" women, their letters and memoirs were often treated cursorily. The author writes that in one case—that of Lady Abbott, John Abbott's wife—sources were too meagre for her to create a sketch.

Much of the information in the book could be gleaned from previous biographies of the prime ministers. Even the idea of chronicling the lives of the wives is derivative; Robertson credits Carol McLeod's *Wives of the Canadian Prime Ministers* and Susan Riley's *Prime Minister's Wives*. But, despite its occasional shortcomings and omissions, *More than a Few* is an impressive achievement. Robertson mines her material with complete self-assurance and candour. Her engagement with two of her favourite subjects—politics and women—is a tacit engaging. After her trilogy of novels about Wilson Lyn Macdonald, King's fictional mistress, Lily Cadogan, she has clearly visited on her territory. Robertson strikes a convincing balance between sympathy for what she describes as the "overcast and shadowed" role of prime minister's wife and very-at times caustic observations of their fables. Pinpointing each woman from her own point of view comes new life as each behavior as Agnes Macdonald's obsession with her handicapped daughter, Mary, Richard Pearson's legendary elusiveness and nervousness, and Milla Macdonald's bookish book shopping sprees.

The book glitters with gossip. It describes what happened at a dinner for 128 guests after a tea run by Charles de Gaulle's busy departure following his Visit to Québec (he speaks—the hosts, Roland and Neuch Macleod, carried on with Lester and Marilyn Pearson in guests). It also details who and whom and when (Dierckx, an Scotian), and who crashed on drugs (not just Margaret Trudeau, but Imelda Staunton), and who was present (not just a nervous crowd).

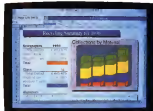
However, it is more than a trivial book about who was a man in her husband's lap and who was a friend in his side. Research is gossip surface, *More than a Few* is a serious study of how social politics has intimately marked Canadian political life. It offers insights into the nature of partnerships in politics and the women of politics. Most of all, it is a caution against the politics of women's gender in politics. *Highly recommended.*

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Powell (right) portraying an aggressive society that subverts relationships

TELEVISION

Stalinist scars

A drama explores the costs of dictatorship

THE FIRST CIRCLE
 (CBC, Oct. 27 and 28, 4 p.m.)

It is one of the final scenes of *The First Circle*, the new television adaptation of Soviet author Alexander Solzhenitsyn's 1968 novel, a satirical guidebook here and there a thoughtful research labor story and begins to ask: Through a tiny window, the camera remembers unbroken—but available—right at the man who appeared here and the aggressive society that has subverted their relationship. That image of silent desperation is typical of Solzhenitsyn's portrayal, in his novels, plays and essays, of life in the Soviet Union. Now, for the first time, the Nobel Prize-winning author—who since his 1974 expulsion from his homeland has lived mostly in Vermont with his wife and three sons—has allowed one of his works to be adapted for the small screen. A \$10-million coproduction by Montreal-based Communications Claude Horner Inc. and Russia's Telecinema Corp., in co-operation with CBC-TV and Toronto's Premiere Productions Ltd., the four-hour mini-series is proof that television can be a powerful medium even for messages that are dramatically complex.

Like much of Solzhenitsyn's work, *The First Circle* is loosely based on the author's own experiences. In 1945, authorities arrested Solzhenitsyn, then a 36-year-old captain in the Red Army and a mathematician and physicist, after conducting a letter in which he had criticized Soviet leader Josef Stalin. After two years in a labor camp, he was sent to work in a research institute in Moscow's Marfino prison.

A similar establishment provides the setting for *The First Circle*. In 1948, and the hero is a disillusioned mathematician named Gleb Nerin (portrayed with understated clarity by British actor Robert Powell) who quietly but adamantly refuses to accept research for the state machine that he despises. His resistance soon evokes stiff opposition from both his superior officers and a friend and fellow scientist named Leo Rubin (Canadian actor Victor Garber), who embodies the party line despite his own great intellectual gifts. Interwoven with their story is that of Isaacovich Volodin (French actor Laurent Malet), a Russian diplomat whose prolonged life is threatened by Rubin's research. The idealistic scientist is developing a machine to identify Volodin's voice, which Russian authorities hoped would help the diplomat isolate important information to U.S. authorities. As Rubin seems as on the traitor's identity and the diplomat scrambles to cover his tracks, their own lives and those of their families and colleagues take interesting, often surprising turns.

Like Solzhenitsyn himself, screenwriter Charles Cohen and director Sheldon Larry, both Canadians, occasionally oversimplify their characters. Rubin, especially, comes across as a Cold War caricature of evil incarnate—although American actor F. Murray Abraham clearly relishes the melodrama of it all. But on the whole, the *Stalinists* have powerfully evoked Solzhenitsyn's denouncing story about the personal costs of totalitarianism.

VICTOR DAVIES

FILMS

Off the money

A send-up of corporate greed lacks bite

OTHER PEOPLE'S MONEY
 Directed by Norman Jewison

Corporate raiders were the buzz-words of the 1980s, the neo-villains of the Great Deceit. And before falling through the gold-plated looking glass, they took permission to see through—David Truitt once created a Trump board game with his picture graced on the blue money. Really like that leaves little room for parody. And that is one of the problems with *Other People's Money*, a comedy starring Debra DeVito as a ruthless corporate raider. Directed and coproduced by Canadian filmmaker Norman Jewison, *Other People's Money* is a sharper, updated version of the 1989 off-Broadway play by Jerry Seinfeld. But despite strong performances, some good jokes and Jewison's crisp direction, the material remains the stuff of stage farce. The satire is toothless, the romance tags (dubbed) and the humor



DeVito (left), Miller: a vicious deal

DeVito plays "Larry the Legitimate," a Wall Street predator who buys up companies, dismantles them and sells off the pieces for quick profits. One day, his bedside music, a computer named Carnage, advises him of an especially juicy prey lurking in the halls of Rhode Island—New England Wire & Cable, a defunct, 80-year-old family firm. The company's chief executive, a paragon of decency named Jerry (Gregory Peck), stubbornly refuses to deal with Larry. And to help Jerry fend off the takeover, Ben (Peter Onorati), his loyal assistant and live-in companion, enlists her daughter, Kate (Pamela Ann Miller), a high-powered Manhattan lawyer.

As Larry and the lawyer engage in a vicious corporate duel, Kate uses her sexuality as a bargaining chip. With DeVito's nose barely missing Miller's low-cut cleavage, they seem matched in smart ways that one. And when Kate takes his crude overtures to heart, her character's credibility suffers.

DeVito creates a rich caricature of a cruel, selfish boss with an addiction to doughnuts. As Ben observes, "He's like something out of a comic book." For his part, Peck delivers a stirring performance, culminating in a speech to a shareholders' meeting that caps the story like a courtroom drama. But, for all their talent, Jewison and his cast fail to prove that *Other People's Money* is an asset worth saving on celluloid.

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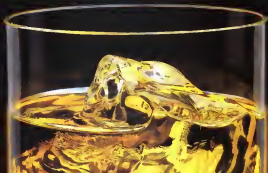
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THE
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FILMS

A hustlers' odyssey

Two male prostitutes search for home

MY OWN PRIVATE IDENTITY
Directed by Gus Van Sant

The story begins and ends in the middle of a two-lane blacktop that cuts across an empty prairie. But there is nothing outside of the road about Gus Van Sant's gay film, *My Own Private Identity*. The American writer-director made his name two years ago with the critically acclaimed, drug-store Cowboy which featured a lackluster performance by Matt Dillon, as an outcasted justice. Now, Van Sant has recruited two other handsome young Hollywood actors, River Phoenix and Keanu Reeves, to take on risky roles—as male prostitutes in a highly unspectacular buddy movie. *My Own Private Identity* is also a road movie, a vagabond odyssey that circles through Idaho, Italy and Oregon in a search for home, mother and America. It unfolds largely from the viewpoint of a sociopathic journeyman scared by attacks of deep sleep who keeps nodding off to one place and waking up somewhere else. The story, meanwhile, buzzes lightly from Shakespeare's *Henry IV*. The result is the art-film equivalent of a carbon-layered cocktail—quirky, outrageous and unimposing.

Coolidge made prostitution, carabaggio, Shakespeare and American wanderlust in a single poster requires certain audacity. And the movie does not always measure up to Van Sant's heady ambitions. But its animal blood of comedy, pathos and disillusionism is invigorating. Its images are evocative—a reminder of Van Sant's origins as a painter. And as the story's desperate love, Mike, Phoenix gives a terrific performance, a display of prime anatomy that rivals screen legend Jesus Deen. Phoenix does not miss Deen's still-raw hair become a chick—but he possesses the same quality of intense conviction, that unshaking focus on an emotional inside distance.

Phoenix and Reeves portray male hustlers who are estranged from radically different backgrounds. Mike is an emotionally disturbed drifter without a job or a future. His childhood

is a blurred memory, and he is haunted by images of his mother, whom he is desperately trying to track down. Scott O'Hare, meanwhile, is a charming rich kid—his father is the wealthy mayor of Portland, Ore.

That is where *Henry IV* comes into play. Like Shakespeare's Prince Hal, Scott is a prodigal son who is keeping his options open. He secretly



Reeves (left), Phoenix: the outlaw attractions of adolescence

plans to go straight when he inherits his father's fortune. And like Hal, he betrays his director mentor, a shadowy Falstaff figure named Bob (Willem Dafoe). He is an awkward re-staging of the *Godhill* journey in *Henry IV, Part 1*. Scott and Mike disguise themselves and reborn Bob and his men, who have just stolen some proceeds from a rock concert. Van Sant makes a little mockery of Shakespeare's amputee language. When Bob asks the time of day,

Scott replies: "What do you care? You wouldn't even look at a clock unless hours were lines of rice, this looked like the signs of gay bars and time itself was a bar hustler in black turtleneck."

The interludes of bastardized Shakespeare would be entirely soporific, and they tend to drag down the whole reduction of the movie. Van Sant has said that he is not reversing *Henry IV* so much as paying homage to *Clotel* or *Moby-Dick* (the initial *Henry IV*), a 1990 film by Derek Wiles about a gipsy's old knight and the prince who loves his heart. Either way, the analogy is overwrought. Although the Prince Hal business is central, when Van Sant tries to spell it out the movie begins to resemble a detour. However, Van Sant's willingness to take risks without fear of looking foolish is what makes the rest of the film so appealing. He creates a wonderfully preposterous sequence in which ball-busted cover boys on a sack of grey porn magazines come to life and start dancing.

There is also a coffee-shop scene of confessions from male prostitutes that plays with the stock analysis of a documentary. And the whole movie is infused with hypnotic images of rural America—rolling, sweeping, sprayer, diesel churning through a fertilization sky, so abandoned farmhouse cradling upside down into an open road.

Meanwhile, the narrative pumps out bits and bobs between risk and disaster. And because it towns events through narcotopic eyes, there are jarring gaps to confront. Mike keeps falling asleep, Scott keeps coming to his rescue. But Scott's behavior is transiently whole, helping Mike look for his mother in Italy. Scott's romance with girl named Carmella (Cherry Carillo) comes between them.

Reeves has a disturbing talent for playing shallow characters—less the yellow newscaster in *Dangerous Liaisons* (1988) to the heavy metal poet in *Neil & Traci* (1990) *Adventures* (1988). In *My Own Private Identity*, he is well cast as an opportunist who conducts his life as a series of poses. Ultimately, Van Sant's narrative technique proves more provocative than his subject matter.

The movie is cut truly about prostitution or homosexuality. It is about the lyricalness of family and class, the remorse of childhood and the naive alienation of adolescence. But most of all, it is about the endless illusion of the road itself. And for all its narcissism, *My Own Private Identity* takes a cinematic detour worth staying awake for.

BRIAN D. JOHNSON



Drugs: Illegal substances are arbitrarily dosed—legal ones go much more than it

BOOKS

A war on hypocrisy

A book shatters myths about drug control

HIGH SOCIETY: LEGAL AND ILLEGAL DRUGS IN CANADA

By Neil Boyd
(Key Porter, 245 pages, \$25.95)

Despite its wince-inducing title and comprehensive detail, Neil Boyd's new book on Canadian drug use is surprisingly entertaining and easy to read. *High Society* is an in-depth investigation of the Canadian legal system, cocaine, pharmaceuticals, cannabis, tobacco and alcohol. Boyd, a 39-year-old professor at Brock University in Hamilton, B.C., and the author of two earlier books on crime and punishment in Canada, has spent much of his career studying the social consequences of domestic drug use. Now, at a time when North America is at the throes of an emotional post-pot campaign, *High Society* initiates the controversial argument that the distinction between illegal and legal substances is arbitrary—and that, in fact, the latter are more harmful.

Boyd notes that the users' attitude—to blur waking consciousness—is the same with both legal and illegal drugs. Yet he writes, "we place more criminal prohibitions on drugs that are less dangerous to us and we persecute the

promoters of drugs that are killing us." Boyd cites research, conducted partly by the federal health department and Ontario's Addiction Research Foundation, that estimates that 30,000 Canadians will die prematurely from tobacco use this year, while another 15,000 will suffer alcohol-related deaths, including traffic accidents involving drunk drivers. Meanwhile fewer than 500 deaths annually are related to illegal drugs, including those arising from shootings and overdoses.

Tobacco—which Boyd points out is the most addictive drug known—receives the harshest treatment in *High Society*. The author explains steps in the past 10 years by the Canadian government to restrict tobacco sales and promotion. They include the federal government's 1990 ban on all forms of print advertising for cigarettes, later ruled unconstitutional in the Quebec Superior Court. The federal government is opposing that decision's 1994 ruling. Boyd argues that alcohol is in fact the most toxic of all mind-altering drugs, noting that, with 80 per cent of Canadians being consuming it regularly, it is the country's drug of choice.

He cautions, "legal marijuana consumption evokes the cocaine—most commonly used as the form of marijuana or hashish—is not

of the most benign substances on the Canadian drug scene. While there is, he writes, no possibility of lethal overdose with cannabis, roughly 15 deaths do occur each year in Canada as a result of impaired driving and crashes associated with trafficking.

The author also quotes Dr. Stantier, who for almost a decade was head of the sector's drug enforcement program. Stantier says that he sees no moral difference between marijuana and alcohol consumption. Indeed, Stantier told Boyd that his greatest concern about marijuana is the difficulty in testing users, including drivers, for its effects. (Stantier's team used to measure alcohol impairment, but not effective, the only accurate tests involve taking blood or urine samples, and they require dangerous procedures from the person being tested.) Boyd does not advocate marijuana use, noting that it is harmful to the lungs and produces a sedative effect that is not conducive to driving or operating machinery. He does, however, argue that providing a new class of cannabis—about 18,000 Canadians are charged with possession yearly, and up to \$5 million use the drug—is a pointless public policy. Indeed, he suggests not only decriminalization, but also making the drug legally available.

Cocaine does not receive the same light treatment. Boyd concludes that it may be the most dangerous of all illegal drugs, lacking his assertion with tragic, detailed accounts of ruined lives and families fuelled by cocaine abuse. But he also writes that cocaine can be used with virtually no ill effects as snuff, subcutaneous and that, as a recent study, the *Cocaine-Led Law Enforcement Unit* of Florida College reported that less than 10 per cent of people who try the drug (consumed by Health and Welfare Canada and the Addiction Research Foundation to number up to 500,000 in Canada annually) become compulsive users. Boyd suggests that the cocaine smuggling-and-selling industry itself is much more dangerous, sending out their cocaine-related deaths—there are roughly 100 per cent in Canada—are in most cases murders and suicides connected with illegal distribution.

Boyd concludes that the war against drugs in Canada has little to do with public health, but is in fact a quasi-Satanic over the appropriate methods and measures for altering consciousness. His solution to avoid currently illegal drugs to be sold, but under tighter controls than those now applied to legal ones, and to tighten those existing restrictions as well. He suggests that the availability of cocaine be limited to the least potent stages of the coca leaf instead of the popular chemical derivatives that now prevail, arguing that legally available ones would reduce the demand for more dangerous forms of cocaine. Boyd claims that such a scenario would result in a reduction in mortality, including cuts in revenues from drug sales, lower law-enforcement and court costs and reduced costs from the business of drug distribution. High Society makes a convincing case for the view that drugs are not going to go away—and that the war against them simply is not working.

BERNARD KAPLAN

Tragedy of errors

Montreal's plague fed on fear and ignorance

PLAGUE: A STORY OF SMALLPOX IN MONTREAL

By Michael Bliss
(HarperCollins, 306 pages, \$25.95)

Like battles and penny-dropping homicide, smallpox has become a national curiosity because of vaccination. No Canadian has contracted smallpox since 1949, and with the death of the world's last smallpox carrier in 1978, the disease has disappeared forever. Now, it is hard to imagine

deeply relevant reminder of how human folly can cut into the pulse of ignorance and official policy. Wayne Ross of Montreal's 2324 fatalities. "Every one of those deaths could have been prevented."

Smallpox was a particularly devastating disease. The idea of its victims first flamed with red spots that later blistered into fluid-filled pustules. In severe cases, the body smothered about black while leaving scars on the face. Sufferers looked so horrible that survivors were banned from smallpox hospitals and

even leave a patient survived, his face and body were unacceptably scarred for life work. In Montreal, like most North American cities, suffered several outbreaks of the disease in the 19th century. But, in Bliss's view, the 1835 epidemic was bad because doctors and officials of the Montreal board of health, greedy and uneducated, it, while at the same time a profound ignorance about the disease flourished among poor French-Canadians.

Smallpox arrived in the city in February of 1835, carried by George Longley, a railway conductor who had picked it up in Chicago. He was diagnosed while on the train, but rather than quarantining him there, doctors—fully aware of the infectiousness of the disease—shoved him to a Roman Catholic hospital. Outgoing priests took smallpox into the city, where it spread was helped by public events such as church services and the St. Jean Baptiste holiday. By the late summer, it had become an epidemic.

Bliss meticulously traces the tragedy of errors that allowed the disease to take hold. Vaccination, invented in the 18th century, was widely accepted among doctors as an effective preventive. But who had a bad batch of vaccine made more people die. Blighted health officials gave and received smallpox vaccinations—for three months, and while citizens and officials argued about whether the situation was truly desperate, a group of anti-vaccinationists spread the word that the injection was useless and possibly dangerous. That message found eager listeners in the

crowded French-Canadian slums of the east end. The people there, already terrified of the plague in their midst, and only released victims, but also were down the wrong signs that health inspectors had failed to collect income. As a result, when the first fatalities were taken for the smallpox epidemic of 1835, the vast majority of fatalities proved to be French-Canadians.

Bliss draws an appalling picture of the moral condemnation that those infected people endured. English editorial writers aggressively sided them with blame for the epidemic, pouring in their filth, convinced that French-Canadians were unconcernedly forgetting that it was the economic domination of the English-speaking ruling class that kept them there. Meanwhile, many Catholics, sometimes encouraged by their priests, believed that smallpox was their punishment for sinning in the pleasures of the winter season. In a letter to the editors, one devoted Catholic merchant lamented against "these accursed heathen slaves, the mating place of depraved men and women."

Bliss has crammed his book with such incidents, vividly and full of contemporary lessons of the time. He points them out, punctuating sentences, and in *Plague* were a kind of awe, with smallpox as the main character. The method is not consistently successful, with no well-developed human characters in nature. *Plague* frequently becomes a mosaic, repetitive mosaic of social detail. But at its core is a fascinating cautionary tale about human panic and paranoias in the face of disaster.

JOHN BERNARD

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Compiled by Brian Belliveau



Brian Mulroney's secret weapon

BY ALLAN FOTHERINGHAM

The following probably should be labelled X-rated—in the current politically correct mode. It will be considered as anti-Quebec, racially motivated, probably even as a slur on the handicapped. All the political savants talk about is—especially the nervous people within the Liberal party. The reporters talk about it, but nobody writes about it. Because it is a supposedly successful secret.

What is our secret to bring up publicly in the matter of Joe Clark's failing battle with the English language? No one paid much attention to it when he was a name, or a charming figure on the national stage. Now that his party leads in the polls and he supposedly might be the next prime minister, the uncomfortable subject keeps coming up: why can't he do something about his tenuous grasp of the second official language?

There is one specific reason why Brian Mulroney, trying to shake off Newt Gingrich, believes in his link to the audience that he can win his third election. It is in his little secret. He knows that our untested electoral rules specify that a Canadian federal election campaign extends over two months (of the 90s are about a government in 30 days, why isn't Canada?). He knows, which works for him, that for some 500,000 voters, Quebecers, are going to endorse 30-second sound bites of Mulroney and Chrétien and Manning and whoever lying out their plans for the universe and our greater good. He knows that Canadian voters—And up with politics and Son of a Bitch we're all well—will only vote conscientiously on the weary chance they will have to make sense of his day. And he knows that, 70 nights after night, Canada will begin to ponder Chrétien's mangling of the language that most Canadians think of as their own.

The Mulroney strategy, the Tory strategy, is that a lot of Canadians are going to congratulate all those about and cheer and wonder if they in the chair after all that they were representing them in White House conferences, on speeches before the United Nations. The Mulroneys think their secret gift is the Chrétien inability to



speak English as an acceptable manner.

It was Lester Pearson who insisted, quite accurately, that there would never be a prime minister who would follow him who was not bilingual. We accept that now as a truism. John Crosbie, who has the highest IQ of anyone in the Conservative party, is proof of that incontrovertible fact.

Pierre Trudeau, with his effortless fluency and eloquence in either language, doted on Canada with our potential. John Turner, electrically brilliant his first political hour in a Montreal riding, knew whereof Pearson spoke and assumed the language from Mulroney learned his eloquent French on the rough streets of Rue-Corcoran.

Which leaves as Joe Clark, the other prime minister since Pearson. He too could see the future and the led from High River proudly taught himself French, knowing Pearson was right. As have any ambitious politicians from

the wooden-tongued Michael Wilson to Barbara McDougall before them, Clark would know that to aspire to high office they must master both languages.

That's the point. If Joe Clark could make the effort to spend endless and excruciating hours to make himself fluent in an unfamiliar language, why couldn't Chrétien? Every Canadian politician raised with English as his mother tongue knows that to succeed in Ottawa means gathering an acceptable group of French, both in listening and in speaking. Why has Chrétien never comprehended that simple truth, in the opposite direction?

When Turner, waiting in his Elks on Bay Street for nearly a decade for Trudeau to part the scene so he could be converted, finally came back to the spotlight, he was a disaster before the cameras. Political pros said the press were astounded at his nervous mannerisms and coughing, stuttering performances that left the public wondering what had happened in the golden boy.

Why, mirrored all the leaders, with all that time to wait did he not take some television training and coaching to adapt to the new demands of media? The same leaders now puzzle over why Chrétien—who also waited almost the same amount of time to succeed Turner—did not do something about his struggle with the English language.

The answer would seem to be a combination of conceit and complacency. There was a time when the little guy from Shawinigan was no absolute right in such as Alberta and British Columbia, confining from elections in provinces that he put the wrong anti-PMs in on the night anti-Liberal. They loved it in the houses, the cuddly character who made

fun of his own troubles with the legs.

That, then, was a future prime minister. That was a Trudeau outsider, who wanted to prove he was just one of the boys. (Which, meanwhile, decided he was an Uncle Tom, which is why he had to run as New Brunswick.)

Chrétien is not enough arrogant, as we realize that Lester Pearson was right. Canadians are confused as to their political future, but they wonder about a party leader who—as Turner did—singly sat and waited it out without working on his weaknesses, assuming that the prize would simply fall in his lap.

The little guy from Shawinigan seems these days to have lost the only thing that went along with his charm—his confidence. It may very well be because he has belatedly realized that he didn't do what Joe Clark and others have had to do—reach out and seriously work on becoming truly bilingual, the only solution for leaders who want to save this crazy country.

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